

GUACANAGARI PONTIAC      BLACK HAWK  
MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE      KEOKUK  
GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN      SACAGAWEA  
POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ  
POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS  
SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS  
MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW  
KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL  
UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH  
TEDYUSKUNG SEQUOYA GERONIMO  
SHABONEE



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NORTH AMERICAN MISSIONS.

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## NORTH AMERICAN MISSIONS.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Origin of colonization—The pilgrim fathers—Divine faithfulness—North American Indians—Character—Manners—Dwellings—Agriculture—Wars—Embassy of peace—Chiefs—Councils—Natural eloquence—Religion—Morals—Benevolence the fruits and evidence of piety—First converts—Fulfilment of prophecy.*

COLONIZATION has usually originated in political or commercial motives; it has been carried on in the spirit of reckless selfishness; and when directed to countries already peopled, it has grasped its secular advantages at the cost of awful guilt to its agents, and of unutterable misery to those whose lands were invaded, and whose interests were sacrificed.

One instance, however, appears in modern times, in which a reverential regard to the law of God, obedience to the dictates of conscience, and concern for the enjoyment and perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, were the controlling principles.

Banished, by the religious and civil policy of the

house of Stuart, from their homes in Britain, a body of exemplary and zealous puritans looked to the newly-discovered regions in the west, as an asylum for themselves and their offspring, and applied to the London or South Virginian Company for a grant of land. They stated, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land ; that they were knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole ; and that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." The grant thus solicited was obtained, and in December, 1620, the first vessel containing these "pilgrim fathers" reached its destination, where they landed on a desolate coast, with sterile sands and gloomy forests as the only objects that met their view. Plymouth, "the cradle of New-England," was the first town they built, and to it attaches a high degree of interest. "No New-Englander," says Dr. Dwight, "who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions entirely different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New-Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard this spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal, or even superior importance." "The memory of the just

is blessed ; " and these venerated settlers actually erected, not merely a civil, but a religious empire ; and many millions of people, to distant ages, will have to bless God for the benefits they have derived through these pious men.

At the period when the first colonies were established in New-England, there were about twenty or thirty different nations of Indians in that territory, closely resembling one another in their external appearance, mode of living, form of government, religious views, moral habits, and language. Those of Massachusetts were supposed to be among the most populous of all these tribes; and though, owing to their residence on the sea-coasts, they had made some little progress in civilization, they were described as "the most sordid and contemptible of the human race," and "as the veriest ruins of mankind on the face of the earth."

This, however, must refer to their moral condition, as the Indians were remarkable for their strength, agility, and hardiness of constitution; and as they discovered a natural understanding, sagacity, and even wit, equal to the same attributes in other men, their passions were exactly what they might be expected to become when habitual and unlimited indulgence assists a degenerate nature. Unaccustomed to the restraints of parental authority, they were impatient of control; and their hatred and revenge, undiminished either by absence or time, expired only with the life of the object or their own. Their attachments, even to the nearest connexions, appear to have been feeble ; but perhaps an exception may be made as to parental tenderness, which in some cases, and particularly in their women, appears to have

been strong. For the gentler affections, the men seem to have had but little respect, though where attachments existed with any strength they were permanent, and there are not wanting some honourable instances of gratitude. It is remarkable, too, that such feelings, as well as their resentments, were not only lasting, but conveyed through several successive generations.

Their manners were coarse, rude, and slovenly. Their dress was principally formed of deer and beaver skins, sometimes embroidered with the quills of the porcupine, beautifully dyed, and arranged with neatness and elegance. Their food was composed of vegetables, fish, and land animals.

To form their huts, or wigwams, they peeled the lime, and other trees abounding with sap, and then cutting the bark into pieces of two or three yards long, laid heavy stones on them; so that, in drying, they might become even and flat. The frame of the dwelling was made by poles driven into the ground, strengthened by cross-beams, and then covered with the bark, fastened with bast, or twigs of hickory. The roof was covered in the same manner, and had an opening to let out the smoke. The door in the side was made of a large piece of bark without either bolt or lock; a stick, leaning against the outside, being the sign that nobody was within. The light was admitted by small openings, having sliding shutters. In the centre stood the fire-place, around which were benches or seats, which served likewise for bedsteads and tables. The blanket used for clothes by day, was the covering at night to a bed of deer or bear skin, or a mat made of rushes. The family

lived and slept in a single apartment, and sometimes two or three families were domesticated together.

The cultivated ground of each family consisted of a garden or field, of no great size. Agriculture was performed with rude implements of stone, by women; labour being universally regarded by the men with contempt. In their diversions, however, such as dancing, gaming, and hunting, they made the most vigorous exertions. When not thus engaged, or occupied in war, they slept, sat, lay down, or lounged, with little more animation than the most torpid of creatures.

War was almost incessant, because it roused them from their lethargy, flattered their pride, and added the sweets of revenge to the pleasure and glory of exertion. It was ordinarily announced by actual hostilities, burning, plundering, and butchering their enemies, without distinction of age or sex. Their attacks were made with profound secrecy, great sagacity, and often with tremendous results. The shrill and intense scream, called the war-whoop, uttering which they furiously rushed on the assailed, might well make even a stout heart to quail. Their weapons were the tomahawk, or war-club, and bows and arrows, headed with flint, or other hard stones; in the use of which they were exceedingly dexterous. The captives were often tortured with every variety of cruelty, and death was embittered by the grossest insults. These, however, were endured by warriors, not only without shrinking, but with triumph; and the taunts by which they were assailed were usually retorted with the utmost severity and contempt.

An embassy of peace was ordinarily committed to several persons, who bare the pipe of peace, made of hard black wood, and adorned with ribbons and white corals, answering to our flags of truce ; and so great is the respect with which it is still treated, that an insult offered to the bearer is denounced as a most heinous crime, to be visited inevitably with the vengeance of the Great Spirit. The smoking of this by the heads of the contending tribes, is the solemnization of a treaty of peace.

The principal chiefs were called sachems, the subordinate ones sagamores. War and peace seem to have been determined on in a council formed of old men, distinguished by their exploits. A murderer was put to death by an avenger of blood, usually the nearest male, but sometimes the nearest female relative. Some capital offenders appear to have been tried by a general council of the natives, who ordered execution on the spot. Crimes against property appear to have been very few. In their deliberations, great ability was often displayed ; some speakers were eloquent in a high degree, and both their modulations of voice and gestures were singularly natural, animated, and impressive. As to the affairs of individuals they seem to have given themselves no concern.

From the specimens extant of their natural eloquence, and strongly figurative style, the following is selected. It is the address of the chiefs of the five Indian nations, which accompanied a treaty of peace with the British :—“ We are happy in having buried in the ground the red axe, that has so often been dyed with the blood of our brethren. Now, in this fort, we inter the axe, and plant the

tree of peace. We plant a tree, whose top will reach the sun; and its branches spread abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off. May its growth never be stifled and choked, but may it shade both your country and ours with its leaves! Let us make fast its roots, and extend them to the utmost of your colonies. If the French should come to shake this tree, we would know it by the motion of its roots reaching into our country. May the Great Spirit allow us to rest in tranquillity upon our mats, and never again dig up the axe to cut down the tree of peace! Let the earth be trod hard over it, where it lies buried. Let a strong stream run under the pit, to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance. The fire that had long burned in Albany is extinguished. The bloody bed is washed clean, and the tears are wiped from our eyes. We now renew the covenant chain of friendship. Let it be kept bright and clean as silver, and not suffered to contract any rust. Let not any one pull away his arms from it."

Their religion was a compound of a few truths, received by tradition, and the dictates of superstition and ignorance. While they believed in a plurality of gods, who had formed the different nations of the world, and made gods of whatever they believed to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful, they conceived that there was one God, known by the names of Kichtan, and Woonand, who was superior to all the rest, who dwelt in the south-west region of the heavens, who created the original parents of mankind, who, though never seen to the eye of man, was entitled to gratitude and respect, on account of his natural goodness, and the benefits bestowed by him, and who was

altogether unpropitious when offended. But the principal object of their veneration was Hobamock, or the evil deity. To him they frequently presented, as offerings and sacrifices, the most valuable articles they possessed ; and his favour they were the most desirous of obtaining. With him their powaws, or priests, pretended to have familiar intercourse ; and, to maintain their authority, they asserted that he often appeared to them in the form of a man, a deer, an eagle, or a snake ; and that they understood the method of securing his regards, and averting his judgments. Images of stone were also formed, and received religious homage. One of these idols is now in the Museum at Hartford, America. Sacred stones also still exist in several places, one particularly at Middletown, to which every Indian, as he passes by, makes a religious obeisance.

It might, therefore, be easily inferred that their morals were debased. In addition to the revenge and cruelty so apparent in their wars, and their making their wives the slaves of slothfulness and caprice, they were addicted to lying, stealing, and impurity, and indulged in drunkenness to the extent of their means.

On a people thus living, “ without God, without Christ, and without hope,” the “pilgrim fathers” gazed with the deepest compassion, and earnestly did they long to “ pluck them as brands from the burning.” Had they not, their own piety would have been exposed to suspicion. For though a missionary spirit is not abstractedly a conclusive evidence of a change of heart, it cannot be experienced without originating an earnest desire for the universal diffusion of the gospel.

This feeling is accordant with the ordinary emotions of a grateful mind in the reception of any benefit; and the contemplation of the necessitous, excites to efforts coincident with the designs and dispensations of God. No man is converted merely for his own sake; but that others should participate in the blessing. The light imparted is to be diffused; the energies aroused and directed are to be called into vigorous and unceasing operation. The same principle may, therefore, be recognised in circumstances widely different. In the case of the widow who has but two mites, it will lead to their being cast into the treasury of the Lord: in that of the individual whose talents are more numerous, it will induce the consecration of them all to God: and wherever the voice of Providence calls to missionary work, its intimations will be promptly, cheerfully, and gratefully obeyed.

So early as the year 1621, some efforts were made for the welfare of the Indians. One named Squanto, died in 1662, who, shortly before his departure, desired the governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. It is said of another, a sagamore, that he "sometimes praised the English and their God," spoke of them as "much good men," and of the "much good God;" and, on his death-bed, desired Mr. Wilson, of Boston, to "teach his son to know the God of the English." Mr. Williams, of Salem, appears also for a time to have been the instrument of great good, and mentions, that another repeated what he had told him two or three years before, and added, as he lay on the bed of sickness and death, "Me much pray to Jesus Christ." Mr. W.

said, that so did many English, French, and Dutch, who had never turned to God, nor loved him ; and to this he replied, in broken English, “ Me so big naughty heart : me heart all one stone.” Such, it may be hoped, were the first-fruits of a rich harvest, by which multitudes of this degraded people shall be gathered into the garner of God, to the praise of the glory of his grace.

## CHAPTER II.

*Rev. John Eliot—Language of the Indians—First visit to them—Second visit—Third visit—Nonanetum—Good is brought out of evil—Death of Wamporas—Infant converts—Translations—Progress of truth—Devotedness till death—A good old age—Character of Mr. Eliot—Rev. Mr. Peabody's labours.*

THE conversion of the Indians having attracted the attention of the general court of Massachusetts, an act was passed, in 1646, encouraging the propagation of the gospel, and accompanied by a recommendation to the elders of the churches, to consider the best means by which it might be accomplished. One of the first to comply with this order was the Rev. John Eliot, who applied himself most assiduously to the acquisition of the language of the people. This was exceedingly barbarous. "One would think," says Dr. Mather, "that its words had been growing ever since Babel;" and he gives the following examples of the length of some of them: *Nunmatcheckodtan-tamoongannunonash*, "our lusts;" *Noorromantam-moonkanunonash*, "our loves;" *Kummogokdonat-toottammociteaongannunnonash*, "our questions." But, with all its faults, the language was pretty copious, so that an European, when master of it, was able to express the most abstract ideas without much difficulty. This circumstance appears rather remarkable, when it is considered that the Indians before their acquaintance with the English, were entirely ignorant of the art of

expressing their sentiments by writing. By the help of an ingenious native, however, Mr. Eliot soon translated the commandments, the Lord's prayers and many texts of Scripture; and also compiled some exhortations and prayers. "I diligently marked," he observes, "the difference of their grammars from ours. When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of; and thus I came at it."

Having in this manner prepared himself for the work, Mr. Eliot proceeded, with two or three of his friends, to visit the Indians, at a place about four or five miles from his own house, where he had previously intimated his design of imparting religious instruction. Several of them met him at some distance from their wigwams, and, bidding him welcome, conducted him into a large apartment, where a great number of their countrymen were assembled, to hear this new doctrine which the English were to teach them. After a short prayer, Mr. Eliot delivered a discourse in the Indian tongue, which lasted upwards of an hour, and comprehended many of the most important articles of natural and revealed religion. Having finished his discourse, he asked them, whether they understood him; to which they answered, that they understood all. He then desired them, as was afterwards his usual practice, to ask him any questions they might think necessary with regard to the sermon, upon which some of them made several inquiries, such as: "How a man might come to know Jesus Christ? Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as they were? Whether Jesus Christ could un-

derstand prayers in the Indian language? Whether, if a man were wicked, and his child good, God would be offended with that child, for, in the second commandment, it was said, ‘He visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?’” To these, and similar questions, Mr. Eliot and his friends endeavoured to give the Indians plain and simple answers; and, after a conference of about three hours, they returned home, considering it “a glorious and affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorn outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered.”

They paid the Indians a second visit about a fortnight after, and found a still greater number assembled than before. After teaching the children a few questions, he preached to the whole congregation about an hour, concerning the nature of God, the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ, the necessity of faith in him, and the awful consequences of neglecting the gospel. During these exercises, the whole of them appeared extremely serious and attentive; and, after sermon, an aged Indian stood up, and, with tears in his eyes, inquired, “Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was now near death, to repent and seek after God?” Some others asked, “How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one father?” Mr. Eliot and his friends having answered these and some other questions, the Indians told them they did greatly thank God for their coming among them, and for what they had heard: they were wonderful things to them.

About a fortnight after, Mr. Eliot visited the Indians a third time, but the assembly was not so numerous as before; for the powaws, or conjurers, had dissuaded some from hearing the English ministers, and threatened others with death in case of disobedience. Such, however, as were present appeared very serious and much affected by the sermon. Two or three days after, Wampas, a sage Indian, with two of his companions, came to the English, and desired to be admitted into one of their families. He brought his son and two or three other Indian children with him, begging that they might be educated in the Christian faith, because, he said, "they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should do, if they were constantly among the English;" and, at the next meeting, all who were present offered their children to be catechised and instructed by the white people.

Gratified by these circumstances, the general court of Massachusetts, on the application of Mr. Eliot, gave the Indians in that neighbourhood some land on which to build a town; the site being marked out, Mr. Eliot advised them to surround it with ditches and a stone wall, promising to furnish them with shovels, spades, mattocks, and crows of iron for this purpose; and he likewise gave money to such as laboured most diligently. Thus, in a short time, the village called Nonanetum, or rejoicing, was not only enclosed, but the wigwams of the meanest were equal to the houses of the sachems in other towns, being built not with mats, but with the bark of trees, and divided into several apartments.

The women now began to learn to spin, to make various little articles, and to carry the natural productions of the country to market for sale. In winter, they sold brooms, staves, baskets, turkeys ; in spring, cranberries, strawberries, fish ; in summer, whortleberries, grapes, etc. Several of them also wrought with the English in hay-time and harvest ; but, it was remarked, they were not so industrious, nor yet so able to work, as those who had been accustomed to it from their infancy. Some of the men learned such trades as were deemed most necessary ; and even built a house for public worship, fifty feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth, which appeared like the workmanship of an English builder.

While these things were going on at Nonantum, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Concord expressed a similar desire of uniting together, in a regular society, of receiving the Christian faith, and of learning the arts of civilized life. With this view they requested Mr. Eliot to come and preach the gospel to them, which he did, and they obtained from the government a piece of land, on which they also built a town.

Mr. Eliot by no means confined his labours to the two places already mentioned. Though he still retained the pastoral charge of the church at Roxbury, yet he usually went once a fortnight on a missionary excursion, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom to as many of the Indians as would hear him. In a letter to the Hon. Mr. Winslow, he gives the following particulars : " I have not been dry, night nor day, from Tuesday to Saturday, but have travelled from place to place in that condition ; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and

so continue. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, ‘Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.’” Such sufferings as these, however, were the least of his trials. When travelling in the wilderness, without a friend or companion, he was sometimes treated by the Indians in a very barbarous manner, and was not unfrequently in danger even of his life. Both the chiefs and the powaws were the determined enemies of Christianity, the sachems being jealous of their authority, the priests of their gain; and hence they often laid plots for the destruction of this good man, and would certainly have put him to death, had they not been overawed by the power of the English.

Mr. Eliot’s feelings at this time were thus expressed :—

“I believe, verily, that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions; nay, I see it already, (though I see it not at all; I believe more than I can see,) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society. Besides, it has become some trial now, to come into our company and call upon God; for besides the forsaking of their powaws, and all their old barbarous habits of sin, and some of their friends, kindred, etc., now this is added, they incur the displeasure of their sachems; all which put together, it cannot but appear that there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares.”

These expectations were not disappointed. By his zealous and unwearied exertions, under the blessing of God, numbers of the Indians, in

different parts of the country, embraced the gospel ; and, in the year 1651, a considerable body of them united together in building a town, which they called Natick, on the banks of Charles' River, about eighteen miles south-west from Boston. This settlement consisted of three long streets, two on this side of the river, and one on the other, with a piece of ground for each family. A few of the houses were built in the English style, but most of them were after the Indian fashion ; for as the former were neither so cheap, so warm, nor yet so easily removed as their wigwams, in which not a single nail was used, they generally retained their own mode of building. There was, however, one large house in the English style ; the lower room was a great hall, which served for a place of worship on the sabbath, and a school-house through the week ; the upper room was a kind of wardrobe, in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles of value ; and in one of the corners there was an apartment for Mr. Eliot, with a bed and bedstead in it. Besides this building, there was a large fort of a circular form, palisadoed with trees ; and a small bridge over the river, the foundation of which was secured with stone.

As soon as the Indians had formed this new town, they applied to him for a form of civil government ; and as he imagined the Scriptures to be a perfect standard in political as well as in religious matters, he advised them to adopt the model proposed by Jethro to Moses in the wilderness. Agreeably to his advice, they chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten, the rulers standing in order, and every individual going to the one he chose. Hav-

ing adopted this plan in their little town, they utterly abandoned polygamy, which had formerly prevailed among them ; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities ; and they began, at length, to long for the establishment among them of a Christian church. Having spent a day of fasting and prayer for Divine direction, Mr. Eliot and his friends resolved to meet on the 13th October, 1652, called by the Indians, "The day of asking questions ;" in order to judge of the fitness of the converts for Christian communion. As the result, however, they judged it expedient that the act contemplated should be postponed. Mr. Eliot patiently submitted to them, regarding the decision of his brethren as the voice of Providence ; and far from being discouraged by the delay, he persevered in his benevolent labours, until, about two years after, his desire was granted.

In an interesting letter he says :—

"One of our principal men, Wamporas, is dead. He made so gracious an end of his life, embraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that he hath greatly strengthened the faith of the living. I think he did more good by his death than he could have done by his life. One of his sayings was, 'God giveth us three mercies in the world : the first is health and strength—the second is food and clothes—the third is sickness and death ; and when we have had our share in the two first, why should we not be willing to take our part in the third ?' His last words were, *Jehovah, Anninumah Jesus Christ* ; that is, 'O Lord, give me Jesus Christ.' When he could speak no more, he

continued to lift up his hands to heaven, according as his strength lasted, unto his last breath. When I visited him the last time I saw him in this world, one of his sayings was this: ‘Four years and a quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of my children to dwell with the English; now when I die, I strongly entreat you, that you would strongly entreat elder Heath, and the rest who have our children, that they may be taught to know God, so that they may teach their countrymen.’ His heart was much upon our intended work, to gather a church among them. I told him that I greatly desired he might live, if it were God’s will, to be one in that work; but that if he should now die, he should go to a better church, where Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and all the dead saints were with Jesus Christ, in the presence of God, in all happiness and glory. Turning to the company who were present, he spake unto them thus: ‘I now shall die, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to go to Natick, that there the Lord might rule over you; that you might make a church, and have the ordinances of God among you: believe his word, and do as he commandeth you.’ His gracious words were acceptable and affecting. The Indians flocked together to hear them. They beheld his death with many tears; nor am I able to write his story without weeping.”

A powerful testimony was borne, on this and similar occasions, to the grace of God, but the work of conversion was not confined to those of mature age, for a saving change appears to have been wrought on some of the Indian children, two of whom were under three years of age.

"One," says Mr. Eliot, "in the extremities of his torments, lay crying to God in these words, 'God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me!' and, when they gave it any thing to eat, it would greedily take it, (as is usual at the approach of death,) but first it would cry to God, 'O God and Jesus Christ bless it.' In this manner it lay calling on God and Jesus Christ until it died. Three or four days after, another child, in the same house, called to its father, and said, 'Father, I am going to God;' several times repeating, 'I am going to God.' The mother had made for the child a little basket, a little spoon, and a little tray. These things the child was wont to be greatly delighted with; therefore, in the extremity of its torments, they set those things before it, a little to divert the mind and cheer the spirit; but now the child takes the basket and puts it away, and said, 'I will leave my basket behind me, for I am going to God; I will leave my spoon and tray behind me,' (putting them away,) "for I am going to God:" and with this kind of expressions, the same night finished its course and died." Thus, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings God perfected praise.

Soon after the formation of a church at Natick, Mr. Eliot had also the pleasure of completing a work on which his heart had long been set, and which was intimately connected with the success of his labours—the translation of the holy Scriptures into the Indian language. In 1661, the New Testament, dedicated to his majesty Charles the Second, was printed at Cambridge, in New-England; and about three years after it was followed by the Old Testament. This was the first

Bible ever printed in America, and though the impression consisted of two thousand copies, it was sooner exhausted than might have been expected. A second edition of the whole was published in 1685. Besides this great work, he translated into the Indian language various other useful books; among them, "Sheppard's Sincere Convert," and "Baxter's Call to the Unconverted." An interesting young sachem, who had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, was so much delighted and impressed with "Baxter's Call to the Unconverted," that when he lay dying of a tedious distemper, he continued to read it, with floods of tears, while his strength lasted. Mr Eliot also published a "Grammar of the Indian Language;" and at the close of it wrote these memorable words: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing."

In 1674, the number of towns within the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts, inhabited by praying Indians, as they were called, had increased to no fewer than fourteen, to all of which Mr. Eliot appears, in a greater or less degree, to have extended his evangelical labours. Of these, seven were of considerable standing; the other seven had begun to listen to the gospel only within the last three years. It is necessary, however, to remark, that under the appellation of "praying Indians" were included all who merely submitted to be catechised, attended public worship, read the Scriptures, and prayed in their family morning and evening, though they were not able, or not willing, to profess their faith in Christ, and were not admitted either to baptism or the Lord's supper.

Estimating each family in these towns to consist, on an average, of five persons, the total number of persons enjoying the means of Christian instruction was supposed to amount to about eleven hundred; but among these there were as yet only two churches. Indeed the further progress of the gospel among the Indians was greatly interrupted by the war with Philip, a celebrated chief, which began the following year, many of the towns of praying Indians being broken up in consequence of it.

In 1687, the work of evangelization appears to have been prospering, though Mr. Eliot, now in his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year, was so enfeebled by age, that he was unable to preach to them oftener than once in two months. At this time there were six churches of the baptized in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the name of Christ. Four-and-twenty Indians were preachers of the word; and, besides these, there were four English ministers, who proclaimed the gospel in the Indian language. Many of the children also had learned the Assembly's or Perkins' Catechism, and could answer all the questions in their own mother tongue.

Though this excellent man now imagined he could no longer be useful to the English, he thought he might yet, perhaps, do some good among the negroes. He had long lamented their deplorable condition, dragged from their native land, carried to a foreign shore, and reduced to slavery among strangers. He therefore requested the English, within two or three miles of his house, to send their negroes to him once a week, that he

might catechise and instruct them in the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. He did not live, however, to make much progress in this humble and disinterested undertaking. Even when he was able to do little without doors, he tried to do something within. There was a young boy in the neighbourhood, who, in his infancy, had fallen into the fire, and burned his face in such a manner, that he was now totally blind. The venerable man, therefore, took him home to his house with the design of teaching him; and he was so far successful, that the youth, in a short time, could repeat many chapters of the Bible from memory, and was able to construe with ease an ordinary piece of Latin. Such was the manner in which this aged saint spent the evening of life. He was, indeed, diligent in business, and fervent in spirit.

Being, at length, attacked with some degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under the ravages of his disorder, combined with the infirmities of old age. During his illness, when speaking about the evangelizing of the Indians, he said, "There is a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among them. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead. It is a work I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that word--my doings! Alas! they have been poor, and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them all." Among the last expressions which were heard to drop from his lips were those emphatic words: "Welcome joy!" and his voice for ever failed him in this world, while he said, "Pray, pray, pray!" He expired

in the beginning of 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and has since been known by the honourable, yet well-earned title of "The apostle of the Indians."

It is delightful to observe, that though most of Mr. Eliot's children died before him, all of them gave satisfactory evidence of an interest in Christ. His eldest son was not only the pastor of an English church, but regularly preached to the Indians once a fortnight, and was highly esteemed by the converts.

Previous to the death of Mr. Eliot, the church at Natick had an Indian minister settled among them; but it appears to have been in a languishing state. In 1698, indeed, there were at that place about a hundred and eighty persons, a number greater than what they were estimated to be upwards of twenty years before; but the church was reduced to ten, namely, seven men and three women. In 1751, Mr. Peabody commenced his labours, which were continued for about thirty years. During that period a church was organized, a hundred and eighty-nine Indians, and four hundred and twenty-two white persons, were baptized; and thirty-five Indians, and a hundred and thirty whites, were admitted into the church.

Besides the Indians at Natick, there were, in 1764, eight or ten families at a place called Grafton; and in 1792, there were still about thirty persons, who retained a part of their lands, and received an annual quit-rent from the white inhabitants. These, with a few other Indians at Stoughton, it is believed, are all the remains of the numerous and powerful tribes who formerly inhabited the colony of Massachusetts.

## CHAPTER III.

*Dartmouth College.—The Hon. Robert Boyle—  
Bishop of Cloyne—Rev. Richard Baxter—Mr.  
Mayhew, Sen.—Mr. Thomas Mayhew—Conver-  
sion and zeal of Hiacoomes—Indian superstition  
renounced—Devotedness—Attention of families  
excited—Conversion of two Powaws—Progress of  
the Gospel—Mr. Thomas Mayhew's death—  
Mr. Mayhew's Sen., labours—Indian preachers  
chosen—Mr. John Mayhew—Mr. Experience  
Mayhew—Domestic piety and zeal.*

THE Rev. Dr. Wheelock, of Connecticut, established an institution in 1769, intended particularly for missionaries, who were to spread the gospel among the western Indians; to which was given the name of Dartmouth College, from William, Earl of Dartmouth, one of its greatest benefactors. In this school several of the aborigines were fitted to enter on a collegiate education; and expectations were extensively formed that by the assistance of these native teachers their countrymen might be persuaded to embrace Christianity. Some of them were promising youths, and after proper examination were found to possess the average share of talent, and to acquire learning and science with the same facility as their white companions. Several of them were placed in colleges, and received the usual degrees. Almost all of them, however, ultimately renounced the advantages they had acquired, and returned to the grossness of a savage life. One of them, a Mohegan, advanced so far

in knowledge, and conducted himself with so much propriety, that he received from the presbytery of Suffolk, on Long Island, a regular ordination. This man was the celebrated Sampson Occom, whose appearance in England, to solicit benefactions for the college, excited strong sensations in the minds of multitudes. He had, before this, preached to the Indians; and during the last years of his life he lived within the bounds of the presbytery of Albany. Into their number he was regularly received, and by them he was esteemed a good man and a useful minister; uncensurable in life, and lamented and honoured in death.

Some other friends and benefactors of the Indians deserve also a brief, but honourable mention. The Hon. Robert Boyle was for thirty years the governor of the corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America, and in the course of his life he contributed £300 to that important object. At his death, too, he left a further sum for the same purpose. Dr. Berkeley, then Bishop of Cloyne, also formed "a scheme for converting the savage Americans to Christianity;" but he was unable to carry it, with other plans of missionary labour, into full effect. And, in reply to a letter of Mr. Eliot's, the Rev. Richard Baxter thus expresses his affectionate interest in his labours:—"Though our sins have separated us from the people of our love and care, and deprived us of all public liberty in preaching the gospel of our Lord, I greatly rejoice in the liberty, help, and success, which Christ has so long vouchsafed you in this work. There is no man on earth whose work is more honourable or comfortable than

yours. There are many here that would be ambitious of being your fellow-labourers, but that they are informed that you have access to no greater number of the Indians than you yourself and your present assistants are able to instruct. An honourable gentleman, (Mr. Robert Boyle, a man of great learning and worth, and of a very public universal mind,) did motion to me a public collection, in all our churches, for the maintaining of such ministers as are willing to go hence to you, partly while they are learning the Indian language, and partly while they after labour in the work, as also to transport them. There are many here, I conjecture, that would be glad to go any whither, to Persians, Tartarians, Indians, or any unbelieving nation, to propagate the gospel, if they thought they could be serviceable, but the defect of their language is a great discouragement." He afterwards remarks, "The industry of the Jesuits and friars, and their successes in Congo, Japan, China, etc., shame us all."

A most interesting family now claims especial notice. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, sen., a merchant from Southampton, went to Massachusetts about the commencement of the colony. In 1641, he obtained a grant, or patent, of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles; and, in the following year, he placed his son Thomas, with a few English people, in the former, intending in a short time to follow them, with the view of becoming their governor.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., being a young man of excellent talents, liberal education, and exalted piety, was soon invited by the settlers to become their minister. Having devoted himself to their

service in the gospel, he conceived that his sphere of usefulness was too limited ; and, in the exercise of compassion for the wretched pagans by whom he was surrounded, he began to cultivate their acquaintance, to endeavour to acquire their language, and also to communicate to them instruction.

Having encouraged the frequent visits to his house of a young man named Hiacoomes, he soon had the pleasure of seeing that his kind services were not altogether lost. This individual, indeed, gave evidence, in 1643, that Divine truth was producing a salutary change on his mind. When he was very rudely and cruelly treated by a haughty sagamore, on account of his intimacy with the English, he behaved in a most Christian manner. "I had one hand for injuries," he remarked, when relating the circumstances, "and the other for God ; while I received wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God." He gave several similar proofs of great composure when enduring the reproaches of his countrymen.

Mr. Mayhew, observing these hopeful symptoms in Hiacoomes, employed him as an instrument to prepare his way to the rest of the natives, instructed him further in the Christian religion, and furnished him with answers to the objections which might be brought against its principles.

In 1644, Mr. Mayhew began to labour more publicly among the Indians. Nothing of particular interest, however, occurred in the prosecution of his labours, till two years after, when Hiacoomes made a deep impression on the minds of some of his countrymen. Having escaped a particular

disorder, which spread over the whole island, this young professor was sent for by his chief, who appeared anxious to know the reason of his exemption. He embraced the opportunity afforded him by this circumstance, of informing his friends of the change which had taken place in his religious views, and of recommending to them the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. In consequence of this circumstance, Mr. Mayhew was invited by Towanquatick, the chief, to instruct him and his people, and to establish a regular meeting among them. He was told, that he "should be to them as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels;" and he was so encouraged, that he agreed to preach to them once a fortnight.

These circumstances were very favourable to Mr. Mayhew, but he soon experienced many difficulties in the prosecution of his labours. Towanquatick, by the countenance which he afforded to the preaching of the gospel, aroused the jealousy of the neighbouring sagamores; and, on one occasion, he was severely wounded by them. When visited by his teacher, however, he was enabled, instead of complaining, to praise God, that he had escaped with his life.

In 1648, at a meeting of the Indians, which included some who favoured, and others who opposed Christianity, the authority of the powaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill their enemies, and relating numerous stories of this kind, which they said were evident and undeniable. Some of them stood up and asked, "Who does not fear the powaws?" To this others replied, "There is no man who does not fear them." The eyes of the

whole assembly were now turned to Hiacoomes. He therefore rose from his seat, and boldly answered: "Though the powaws may hurt such as fear them, yet he trusted in the great God of heaven and earth, and therefore all the powaws in the world could do him no harm: he feared them not." The whole assembly were astonished at this bold declaration, and expected some terrible judgment to overtake him immediately; but, observing that he remained unhurt, they began to change their views, and to esteem him happy in being delivered from the power of their priests, of whom they were all in such terror. Several of them even declared they now believed in the same God, and would fear the powaws no more. Being desired to tell them what the great God would have them to do, and what were the things that offended him, Hiacoomes immediately began to preach the gospel to them; and, at the close of the meeting, no fewer than two-and-twenty of the Indians resolved to renounce the superstition of their fathers, and to embrace the religion of the white people, among whom was a son of one of the chiefs, who afterwards became a preacher. The powaws were terribly enraged at these proceedings, and threatened to kill the praying Indians; but Hiacoomes and his friends challenged them to do their worst, telling them they would abide their power in the view of all the people.

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, Mr. Mayhew now redoubled his zeal, and pursued his labours with still greater energy, in the midst of no inconsiderable privations, and many external inconveniences. The Indians now flocked to him in

whole families. One day there came no fewer than fifty, desiring to attend the preaching of the gospel, and other means of instruction.

In 1650, Mr. Mayhew mentioned several gratifying circumstances, as proofs of the success, which, under the Divine blessing, had accompanied his labours. “One of the meeting Indians said, and I hope feelingly,” he remarked, “that if all the world—the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it—were presented without God, or God without all these, he would take God. Another said, that if the greatest sagamore in the land should take him in his arms, and proffer him his love, and riches, and gifts, to turn from this way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them, of his own accord, speak to the same purpose, in complaining against head knowledge, and lip prayers, without heart holiness; loathing the condition of such a man, and saying, ‘I desire my heart may taste the word of God, repent of my sins, and lean upon the redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ.’ Some of them having a discourse with Vzzamaquin, a great sachem, or governor on the main-land, who came among them, about the ways of God, he inquired what earthly good things came along with them; and demanding of them what they had gotten by all that they had done this way, one of them replied, ‘We serve not God for clothing, nor for any outward thing.’”

While these pleasing instances of success delighted the heart of Mr. Mayhew, he had the joy of seeing two of the powaws abandon their delusions, and profess their faith in Jesus Christ; and that their conversion greatly strengthened the hearts of their countrymen. Shortly after, about

fifty persons confessed their sins, lamented the depravity of their hearts, expressed their willingness to rely on the righteousness of Jesus Christ for acceptance before God, and desired to consecrate themselves and their children to his service.

In a letter, dated 16th October, 1651, he was enabled to report a most delightful progress in the work to which he was devoted. "And now, through the mercy of God," he writes, "there are a hundred and ninety nine men, women, and children, that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's day; the one three miles, the other about eight miles off from my house. Hiacoomes teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and Mumanequem accordingly at the farthest."

About the conclusion of that year, Mr. Mayhew instituted a school for teaching the natives to read; and, in the spring of the following one, the Indians, of their own accord, solicited him to establish a Christian form of government among themselves. With their request he readily complied; and, after a day of fasting and prayer, they gave their assent to a covenant which he had drawn up for them, and bound themselves to fear God and observe his ordinances. "There were divers English both eye and ear witnesses hereof," remarks Mr. Mayhew, "as well as myself, and we could not but acknowledge much of the Lord's power and goodness to be visible amongst them, who, without being driven by power, or allured by gifts, were so strongly carried against those ways they so much loved, to love the way that nature hates."

The profession of attachment to the cause of

Christ, which was at this time made by the Indians, appears to have been most sincere, and highly favourable to the progress of the truth. A few extracts from one of Mr. Mayhew's letters, dated the 22nd October, 1652, may here be inserted as illustrative of this remark, and of the gracious effects which continued to attend his ministry.

" Within two or three weeks there came an Indian to me on business, and by the way he told me, that some Indians had lately kept a day of repentance, to humble themselves before God in prayer, and that the word of God, which one of them spake from, for their instruction, was Psalm lxvi. 7, 'He ruleth by his power for ever; his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves.' I asked him what their end was in keeping such a day? He told me, these six things: 1. They desired that God would slay the enmity of their hearts. 2. That they might love God and one another. 3. That they might withstand the evil words and temptations of wicked men, and not be drawn back from God. 4. That they might be obedient to the good words and commands of their rulers. 5. That they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ. And, 6. That they might walk in Christ's way.

" We are, by the mercy of God, about to begin a town, that they may cohabit and carry on things in a civil and religious way the better. The praying Indians are constant attenders to the word of the Lord. About thirty Indian children are now at school. They are apt to learn, and more are now sending in unto them. The barbarous

Indians, both men and women, do often come on the lecture-days, and, complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps and hopes of their own power, seek subjection to Jehovah, to be taught, governed, and saved by him, for Jesus Christ's sake.

"I observed that the Indians, when they chose their rulers, made choice of such as were best approved for their godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and encourage holiness; and they have since been forward on all occasions to show their earnest desire thereof."

Mr. Mayhew continued to labour among the Indians till the month of November, 1657, when, considering that there were "many hundred men and women added to the Christian society, of such as might truly be said to be holy in their conversation," he resolved to visit England, with the view of reporting the Lord's dealings with them, and exciting an interest in their behalf. It was, however, the Divine will, that the ship, in which he sailed from America, should be lost on the passage. Thus was the course of an affectionate, devoted, and eminently successful minister of the gospel, unexpectedly terminated. But it did not end until he had accomplished the work that was given him to do. There remained no conversation for him to engage in; no sermon for him to deliver; no act of mercy for him to perform. The last effort was made—the last prayer was breathed, when the messenger of death arrived. At the voice of his Lord he rested from his labours, and his works followed him.

The Indians, indeed, were so pleased and edified by the ministrations of the elder Mr. Mayhew,

that, a few years afterwards, they requested him to accept the pastoral office; but apprehending that this would not correspond so well with the chief place which he held in the civil government, where they also greatly needed his assistance, he advised them to choose such of the Indian preachers as he thought were most judicious, and promised to be most useful among them. Agreeably to his advice, they selected Hiacoomes and John Tackanash, who, accordingly, were both ordained to the work of the ministry among them; while Mr. Mayhew continued to labour as an evangelist, both in Martha's Vineyard, and in the neighbouring islands.

In 1674, the whole number of native families on Martha's Vineyard, and a small island separated from it by a narrow strait, was about three hundred and sixty, of whom two thirds, or, as Dr. Mather estimated them, about fifteen hundred persons, were praying Indians. Among these, there were fifty in full communion, whose holy and exemplary life bore ample testimony to the work of grace in their hearts. It is also proper to add, that there were ten Indian preachers, seven jurisdictions, and six meetings were held every Lord's day.

At Nantucket, an island about twenty miles distant, often visited by Mr. Mayhew, there was a church of Christian Indians. The whole number of families in that quarter, at the period now mentioned, was estimated at about three hundred. Among these were about thirty individuals in full communion, and about three hundred persons, including both old and young, who prayed to God, and observed the sabbath. They had meet-

ings in three different places, and four Indian teachers among them.

In 1680, the venerable Mr. Mayhew died, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry, to the great grief of the inhabitants of the island. Previous to his death, however, one of his grandchildren, Mr. John Mayhew, was settled as the pastor of the English families, and the Indians would not be satisfied until he became a preacher to them likewise, even though his grandfather still laboured with great acceptance. After the death of that good man, as he had now both the Indians and the English under his pastoral care, it became necessary to redouble his diligence and zeal, especially as some erroneous opinions threatened to spread in the island. The whole of his salary, as a minister among the Indians and the white people, scarcely amounted to ten pounds per annum, except during the two last years of his life, when, on account of his eminent services, it was raised to thirty pounds; but yet he pursued his labours with cheerfulness and pleasure, in the hope of a better and rich reward in heaven. His course on earth, indeed, was short. During his last sickness he expressed a wish, that "if it were the will of God, he might live a little longer, and do some more service for Christ in the world." But such was not the appointment of Heaven. After a few months illness, he died in February, 1689, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the sixteenth of his ministry.

With him, however, the missionary zeal of the Mayhew family did not expire. That sacred flame, which burned with so much ardour in the breast

of his excellent ancestors, continued to glow in the bosom of his posterity. He left behind him eight children, the eldest of whom was then only sixteen years of age; but it was not long before he succeeded him as a missionary among the Indians. In March, 1694, Mr. Experience Mayhew entered on his labours among them. They were now, indeed, greatly diminished in number on Martha's Vineyard, as well as in all the English settlements; yet so great was the progress of the gospel, that a few years afterwards, out of a hundred and eighty families who still lived on that island, there were only two individuals who continued heathens. As he was considered one of the greatest masters of the Indian language that had appeared in New-England, having been familiar with it from his infancy, he was employed to make a new version of the book of Psalms, and of the gospel according to John. This work was printed in 1709, the Indian and English being placed in parallel columns, Besides this, he published, in 1727, a small volume, entitled "Indian Converts," in which he gave a particular account of a considerable number of the natives who had embraced the gospel, and appeared to adorn their Christian profession. It is written with great candour, and evidently with a strict regard to truth; and though the examples of piety which it records are not so distinguished for holiness, nor so free from imperfections as might be desired, yet, on the whole, it may be considered as affording pleasing evidence of the triumph of the gospel, and of the power of Divine grace in the hearts of this barbarous people. Mr. Experience Mayhew con-

tinued to labour among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, for no less a period than sixty years. He died about 1754, aged eighty-one.

An observation of the history of this devoted family may serve as a stimulus to the example, efforts, and prayers of Christian parents. The last mentioned labourer was a venerable man, descended from ancestors, who, through five successive generations, and for upwards of a century and a half, had been distinguished by their zeal for the conversion of the heathen. Here was, indeed, a memorable fulfilment of the promise :—“I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring. And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses. One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel.” And why are not such instances more numerous? Surely the feebleness of religious principle in the heads of families, and especially the want of zeal for the Divine glory, will sufficiently account for their rare occurrence. The declaration is still true, “Them that honour me I will honour.” Were a missionary spirit revived in our domestic circles, the effect on them, the church, and the world, would be, indeed, incalculable.

Of late, the Rev. F. Bailies, under the patronage of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others, have laboured here and in the vicinity. In 1823, he had one hundred and forty-one pupils under his care. The same society has recently established a mission at Sault St. Mary, among the Indians on the northern shore of Lake Huron.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Mr. Richard Bourne—Indian preacher—Rev. Mr. Cotton—Rev. Mr. Treat—Rev. Mr. Sergeant—The powaws—Superstitious practices—Stockbridge—Mr. Sergeant's labours and trials—Royal benefactors—Benevolence of Rev. Mr. Hollis—Indian charity school—Mr. Sergeant's death—Rev. Jonathan Edwards—Rev. John Sergeant, Jun.—New Stockbridge—Rev. David Brainerd—Mental conflicts—Privations and support—Translations and labours—Success—Abandonment of evil practices—Journey to the Forks of Delaware—Conversation with a chief—Necessity of Divine influence—Humiliation and prayer—Suspicions awakened by the whites—Visit to the banks of the Susquehannah—Dangers and trials.*

ANIMATED by the example and exhortations of Mr. Eliot, who, in the course of his evangelical labours, occasionally visited the colony of New Plymouth, some ministers and others engaged in the same noble undertaking—the christianizing of the Indians. Among these was Mr. Richard Bourne, a man of some property in the vicinity of Sandwich. Having, with great industry and zeal, acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, he began to preach the gospel to some of the savages in his own neighbourhood; and meeting with considerable encouragement and success, he extended his labours to those in other quarters, and succeeded in bringing numbers to

the profession of the Christian faith. He also obtained a grant of land in a most favourable situation, and entailed it to the Indians and their children for ever. He was succeeded in his pastoral labours by an Indian preacher, named Simon, who was settled over his countrymen for upwards of forty years. In 1807, Mr. Hanly, a missionary, died there, after labouring among them for about half a century.

Mr. John Cotton, pastor of the English church at Plymouth, was also distinguished for his great activity and missionary zeal. He preached every week to five Indian congregations, not far from Mashpee, who had at the same time native teachers set over them, to conduct their worship on the sabbath and on other occasions. In 1693, the Indians under his care amounted to about five hundred. About the same time, Mr. Samuel Treat, of Eastham, preached the gospel to four assemblies of Indians, in different villages, not far from Cape Cod. Over these, native preachers were placed, who were also under his instructions. Here the Indians amounted to upwards of five hundred: many were serious, civilization proceeded and four schools were established.

In 1734, Mr. John Sergeant, who had just finished his course of study at Yale College, and was employed as a tutor in that seminary, promptly accepted an invitation to become a missionary among the Housatunnuk Indians. "I should be ashamed," said he, "to call myself a Christian, or even a man, and yet refuse to do what lay in my power to cultivate humanity among a people naturally ingenious enough; but who, for want of instruction, live so much below the dignity

of human nature ; and to promote the salvation of souls perishing in the dark, when yet the light is so near them.”

Scarcely, however, had he entered on his labours, when the Dutch traders in the neighbourhood endeavoured to frustrate the attempt, and to ruin his character by the basest and most artful means. As they derived great profits from selling the Indians rum, and by striking bargains with them when they were intoxicated, they were justly apprehensive, should Christianity prevail, that they would be able thus to make gain of them no longer. They therefore declared, that the religion which Mr. Sergeant taught them was not a good religion ; that the friendship he professed for them was merely pretended ; and that he designed at length to make slaves of them and their children. By these and similar insinuations, they so prejudiced the minds of the Indians, that many of them were greatly disgusted and incensed against him. By his friendly behaviour, and prudent representations, he succeeded, however, in allaying their resentment, conciliating their affections, and regaining their confidence.

But it was not long before new sources of uneasiness arose. Among the Indians, it is customary to conclude no affair of importance without consulting the several branches of the nation ; but as the Indians of Housatunnuk had proceeded so far without the consent of their brethren, they were now apprehensive lest their conduct should be condemned at the general meeting of the tribe, which was soon to take place, especially as it was reported that the Indians of Hudson’s River were highly incensed with them on this account ;

and that there was even a design on foot to poison their two principal men. But, happily, when the assembly met, they were so far from condemning the measure, that they expressed themselves thankful on account of it, and even gave some ground to hope that the whole nation would submit to religious instruction.

This meeting, however, was concluded with a frolic and a drinking match, agreeably to the usual custom of the Indians.

Soon after, several of them were taken ill, and two suddenly died of a violent fever. Easy as it was to account for their death from natural causes, especially as, at the time of their dance, the weather was extremely cold, and there was a deep snow on the ground, the Indians were persuaded it was the effect of poison, and resolved to apply to the invisible powers for the discovery of the murderers. Mr. Sergeant was then absent; but Mr. Woodbridge, his assistant in the Indian school, having heard of their design, rode down to the place of their meeting; and, on his arrival, found upwards of forty of them assembled in the wigwam of one of their chiefs. They passed through their usual superstitious ceremonies, but did not gain their object; and on Mr. Woodbridge representing to them their folly and criminality, they promised never again to do so, and some of them even seemed extremely sorry for the step they had taken.

In the course of a short time, Mr. Sergeant's hearers greatly increased in number; many of them appeared to be seriously impressed with religion; and within a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing upwards of fifty of

them, among whom were the two principal men, with their wives and children. Most of them appeared anxious to obtain religious instruction ; a remarkable reformation of manners ensued ; and vice, especially drunkenness, the sin to which, of all others, they are most addicted, seemed for the present nearly banished. They themselves were surprised at the change ; and expressed the difference between their former and their present state, by the terms infancy and manhood, dreaming and waking, darkness and light, and similar metaphors.

In May, 1736, the Indians settled together in a new town, which was called Stockbridge, and was situated in the great meadow above the mountain Housatunnuk, the whole of which was now appropriated to their use. Notwithstanding their former jealousies, they were greatly pleased with the arrangement ; and now applied so diligently to husbandry, that even in the first year, they planted at least three times more corn than they had ever done before. The government soon after ordered that a church forty feet by thirty, together with a school-house, should be erected for the Indians at the expense of the province.

So familiar did Mr. Sergeant become with the language of the Indians, that they used to declare that he spoke it better than themselves. Into it he translated great part of the Bible, some prayers, and Watts' First Catechism. The trials of this devoted man were many ; but, though his expectations often failed as to the elder Indians, he cherished hope of more success among the children. He therefore formed and circulated a plan for their instruction, which reflected great credit on his judgment and benevolence. With the view

of carrying it into effect, a subscription was commenced in England, and met with considerable encouragement, even from some members of the royal family. Frederick, Prince of Wales, stood at the head of the list for a donation of twenty guineas; and when informed that Mr. Sergeant was not a minister of the church of England, he replied, "What though he be a dissenter; he is a good man; that is every thing. It is time such distinctions were laid aside, and the partition wall thrown down, so that Christians may love one another. For my part, I love all good men alike, whether they are churchmen or dissenters." And when the Duke of Cumberland was asked to contribute ten guineas, he generously replied, "It would be shameful in me to give so small a sum for so good a purpose," and accordingly he subscribed twenty. Some further sums were raised in other quarters by the generosity and zeal of a few, but they were inadequate to carry the plan into effect, even on the smallest scale. Thus, to his indescribable grief, Mr. Sergeant again beheld the disappointment of his fond hopes.

Mr. Hollis, a baptist minister near London, now requested him, with singular generosity, to take twelve boys, from nine to twelve years of age, and to educate and support them entirely at his expense. But war with France having broken out soon after, and Stockbridge being from its situation much exposed, it was deemed expedient to delay the execution of this proposal till more pacific and propitious times. Mr. Hollis being informed of this, wrote to Dr. Coleman, of Boston, in 1747, insisting that it should be carried into effect without further delay. "If my money," says he, "be unemployed till the conclusion of

the war, it may be a long time indeed. Do you see the least prospect in the world of it? Would you not wish to behold the Redeemer's cause carried on while you live? I am not willing to have my money—£350. your currency, lying useless till the war is ended." In a subsequent letter, he says, "I request that the £300. of my money in your hands may be employed in the education of twelve new boys, of heathen parents, with all convenient speed. Yea, I absolutely insist upon it, and promise hereby to make a remittance for further charge of education and maintenance, my estate being very much increased of late, as I have had a great deal left me by a relation deceased. As to the war with France, let not that hinder it. I request it may be done speedily, if there be Indian parents willing to have their children educated." Such was the zeal of Mr. Hollis in this good work. How few are so anxious to have their money expended in promoting the glory of Christ, and the salvation of souls!

Notwithstanding the war with France, Mr. Sergeant now prepared to carry into execution, on a small scale, the plan which for some years had lain so near his heart. With this view he obtained from the Indians at Stockbridge, who were the proprietors of the undivided lands, about two hundred acres, as a situation for the building, and as a plantation to be cultivated by the children. Here he erected a house, thirty-eight feet long, and thirty-six broad, containing a number of apartments adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. Having previously committed the boys, whom he had selected on Mr. Hollis's foundation, to the care of a gentleman in Connecticut, on account of the continuance of the war, he now

removed them to this place ; and intended, in the course of the summer, to undertake a journey into the country of the Mohawks, commonly called the Six Nations, with the view of inviting them to send their children to the charity school ; and he likewise designed that it should be open to any of the other tribes of Indians who might choose to take advantage of it.

But while Mr. Sergeant was pleasing himself with the hope of at length beholding the consummation of his favourite plan—the establishment of an Indian charity school, a period was unexpectedly put to his labours. After an illness of about four weeks, he expired, in the full hope of a glorious immortality, July 27, 1749, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his labours among the Indians.

After the death of this excellent man, the charge of the Indians devolved, for some time, on Mr. Woodbridge ; and it appears that Mr. Hollis, with that generosity for which he was so remarkable, increased the number of boys to be educated and maintained at his expense, to thirty-six, for each of whom he allowed the sum of five pounds sterling a year.

At length, however, in the month of August, 1751, that distinguished man, Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, was settled at Stockbridge, where he laboured for six years, but with no remarkable success. He was succeeded by Mr. West ; but the unhappy animosities which still subsisted among those who had the superintendance of the mission, rendered his situation so uncomfortable, and so clouded his prospects of usefulness, that he at length resigned the undertaking, and was succeeded by Mr. John Sergeant,

son of the original founder of the settlement. Of the state of the mission for a number of years, little or no information is possessed. During the American war, the Indians suffered materially, both in their temporal and spiritual interests, by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle, while the others were confirmed in their habits of idleness and intemperance. One party had, for many years, wished to remove them from their old territory ; and soon after the conclusion of the war, they procured their removal to the country of the Oneida Indians, who offered them land on which to settle. Here they built a town, which they called New Stockbridge, about 350 miles from Boston, and 160 from the place of their former residence.

Some of the other tribes also manifested a disposition to receive the gospel, and to cultivate the arts of civilization. In 1802, the Stockbridge Indians sent a delegation to several of the western nations, particularly to their grandfathers, the Delawares, who are considered as the head of the other tribes. They urged them to receive the gospel ; mentioned the temporal as well as spiritual advantages which they themselves had derived from it ; and represented the dangers to which they would be exposed, if they continued to reject it. The Delawares thanked them for their visit ; and it appears that then, or soon after, they "unanimously agreed to accept and take hold with both hands," of the offer made to them of introducing the gospel and civilization among them. In consequence of an invitation from the

Onondago Indians, Mr. Sergeant visited them in June, 1806, and was cordially received by them.

In April, 1743, David Brainerd, a young man of distinguished piety, entered on his labours as a missionary among the Indians, under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at a place called Kanaumeek, about twenty miles from Albany, in the province of New York. The situation was extremely lonely: it was in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by woods and mountains, about twenty miles from the nearest English inhabitant. Here he lodged with a family who had lately come from the Highlands of Scotland, sleeping on a bundle of straw, and living on the coarsest fare; while almost the only language he heard was Gaelic or Indian, neither of which he understood. As he was naturally of a dejected temper, the dreariness of the country, the solitariness of the place, and the uncomfortableness of his circumstances, contributed not a little to its increase. After he had been here about three months, he thus describes his views and feelings:—" My soul has for a long time past been in a truly pitiable condition. Sometimes I have been so overwhelmed with a sense of my insignificance and unworthiness, that I have been ashamed that any, not excepting the meanest of my fellow-creatures, should so much as spend a thought about me. Sometimes, when travelling among the thick brakes, I have wished that, like them, I might drop into everlasting oblivion. Sometimes I have almost resolved never again to see any of my acquaintance, thinking I could not hold up my face before them; and have longed for the remotest corner on earth, as a retreat from

all my friends, that I might never be seen or heard of more. Sometimes the consideration of my ignorance has occasioned me great anxiety and distress; but my soul has, in a particular manner, been full of anguish from fear, and guilt, and shame, because I had ever preached the gospel, or had any thought of that important work. Sometimes I have been in deep distress, on feeling some particular corruption rise in my breast, and swell like a mighty torrent; while, at the same time, ten thousand sins and follies presented themselves to my view, in all their native blackness and deformity. Such things as these have weighed down my soul, combined as they are with those unfavourable external circumstances, in which I am at present placed: destitute of most of the conveniences of life, at least of all its pleasures; without a friend to whom I may unbosom my sorrows, and sometimes without a place of retirement, where I may unburden my soul before God."

The place where Brainerd lodged being at some distance from the Indians, he found this extremely inconvenient, as it obliged him to travel backwards and forwards, almost daily, on foot; and, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not be with them in the morning and evening, the seasons when they were most generally at home, and when they were most at liberty to attend his instructions. He therefore took up his residence among them, and lodged at first in one of their wigwams, until he succeeded in erecting a small cottage for himself. Here he lived quite alone; and though his situation was far from agreeable, yet it was much more comfortable than before. Scarcely, however, had he

removed into his little hut, when he was attacked with such extreme weakness and severe pains, that he thought his mortal frame would soon sink into the grave, and mingle with its kindred dust. But, though he was so very ill, he was obliged to labour hard from day to day, in order to procure fodder for his horse, while at the same time he was in a great measure destitute of provisions suitable for himself. "I had no bread," says he, "neither could I obtain any. I am forced either to go or send ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I need; and if I get any considerable quantity, it is sometimes sour and mouldy before I have used the whole, and then, perhaps, I have none for some days together. Such is my situation at present; but, through the goodness of God, I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes, and fried them. Still, however, I felt satisfied with my situation, and sweetly resigned to the will of Heaven. I enjoyed great freedom in prayer, and blessed God as cordially for my present circumstances, as if I had been a king. I thought, indeed, I found a disposition to be contented in any situation."

When Brainerd came to Kanaumeek, he found the Indians much more favourably disposed toward Christianity than might naturally have been expected, a circumstance which he attributed to the beneficial influence of Mr. Sergeant's exertions among a number of the same tribe at Stockbridge, which was only about twenty miles distant. In labouring among them, he studied to instruct them chiefly in those principles of religion which he deemed most important, and best calculated to promote their conversion to God; at the same

time adapting himself to the weakest and most ignorant among them. Having written some forms of prayer suited to their circumstances and capacity, he made an Indian translation of them by the help of his interpreter, and learned from him to pronounce the words, so as to pray with them in their own language. He translated, in the same manner, several of the psalms of David, and taught his people to sing them in praise to God. There was also an English school taught by his interpreter, which he used often to visit, in order to give the children some serious instructions and exhortations, adapted to their tender years.

Though these labours of Brainerd were not productive of any remarkable effects, yet neither were they altogether in vain. The knowledge of Christianity, which some of the Indians acquired, was far from contemptible; the proficiency which the children at school made in the English language was considerable; and on the consciences of several the word appeared to make a serious impression. Some of them came to Brainerd of their own accord, to converse with him about the things which belonged to their eternal peace; and several inquired, with tears in their eyes, what they should do to be saved. He had not, indeed, satisfactory evidence of the conversion of any, but there was a considerable reformation of manners among them. Their idolatrous sacrifices were entirely abolished; their heathenish dances, were, in a great degree, abandoned; their habits of drunkenness, were, in some measure, corrected; and the sabbath was observed by them and their children.

After spending about a year among the Indians

in this quarter, Brainerd informed them, that he expected soon to leave them, and to go among a tribe of their brethren at a great distance. On hearing this, they appeared extremely sorrowful; some of them tried to persuade him to remain.

In May, 1744, Brainerd set off for the Forks of Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania, though he was then extremely ill. In the course of his journey, he visited a number of Indians at a place called Minissinks, about a hundred and forty miles from Kanaumeek; and, after some friendly conversation with one of the principal men, told him, that he wished to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and that this would materially promote their happiness, both in this world and in the world to come. The chief, however, on hearing this, laughed, turned his back, and went away. After some time, Brainerd followed him into his hut, and renewed the conversation; but he still declined talking on that subject, and referred him to one who appeared a rational kind of man. This person, after speaking with great warmth for nearly a quarter of an hour, asked Brainerd, why he desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians. "The white people," said he, "lie, and drink, and steal more than their red brethren. It was they who first taught my countrymen to drink; and they stole from one another to such a degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them: yet even this did not deter others from committing the same crime. But," added he, "the Indians were never hanged for stealing; yet, should they become Christians, it is probable they would soon be

as bad as the white people. They were resolved, therefore, to live as their fathers had lived, and to go to the same place as their fathers when they died." In reply to these charges, Brainerd readily acknowledged the ill conduct of many of his countrymen ; but these, he told him, were Christians only in name, not in heart ; that as for himself, he abhorred such practices, and should never desire the Indians to learn them. The man now appeared more calm ; but yet, when Brainerd asked, if they were willing that he should come and visit them again, he replied, they would be willing to see him as a friend, if he would not desire them to become Christians.

Having taken leave of these Indians, he prosecuted his journey ; but, on his arrival at the Forks of Delaware, he was greatly disordered in body, and still more distressed in his mind. It was the sabbath morning ; but here there was no sabbath : the children were all at play ; the Indians were few in number, and greatly scattered ; he was a stranger in the midst of them, and was disappointed of an interpreter. Every thing, in short, seemed to unite in increasing his distress, and in rendering the prospects before him dark and cloudy.

After saluting the chief, and some others of the Indians, in a friendly manner, he mentioned his desire of instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and having received from them a favourable answer, he preached to the few who were present, most of whom were very attentive, particularly the chief, who seemed both pleased and surprised at what he heard, was afterwards very friendly to Brainerd, and gave him full liberty to

preach in his house whenever he thought proper. The number of his hearers at first often did not exceed five-and-twenty ; but afterwards they were increased to forty, and upwards. There were not, indeed, more than ten houses which continued to be inhabited, and even some of these were several miles distant from the others, so that it was very difficult for his little congregation to assemble together as often as he wished.

But though he pursued his labours among these Indians with unwearied diligence and zeal, he did not rest short in any exertions of his own. Deeply impressed with the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit for the conversion of sinners, he combined with his assiduous endeavours the most earnest and affectionate supplications for the Divine blessing upon them. Of his importunity in prayer, as well as of his elevated piety, the exercises of his mind, one day soon after his arrival in this part of the country, afford an interesting example. "This morning," says he, "I was greatly oppressed with a sense of guilt and shame, from a view of my inward vileness and depravity. About nine o'clock, I withdrew to the woods for prayer, but had not much comfort. I appeared to myself the meanest, vilest creature upon earth : I thought I could scarcely live with myself, and that I should never be able to hold up my face in heaven, if God, of his infinite mercy, should bring me thither. Towards night, the burden of my mind, respecting my work among the Indians, began to increase, and was much aggravated by hearing several circumstances of a discouraging nature, particularly, that they designed to meet together next day for an idolatrous feast and dance.

My mind was agonized at the prospect. I thought it would be my duty to endeavour to break up the assembly ; but how to do it I knew not. In this dilemma, I withdrew for prayer, hoping for strength from on high. While engaged in this exercise, I was exceedingly enlarged : my soul was as much drawn out as I almost ever remember it to have been in my life. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much importunity, that when I rose, I felt so extremely weak that I could scarcely walk ; my joints were loosed : the sweat ran down my body ; nature seemed as if ready to dissolve. What I experienced, indeed, was inexpressible. All earthly things vanished from my sight. Nothing appeared of much importance to me, except progress in holiness, and the conversion of the heathen to God. All my cares, desires, and fears, which might be considered as of a worldly nature, disappeared, and seemed of little more importance than a breath of wind. I longed exceedingly that God would glorify his name among the heathen. I appealed to him with the greatest freedom, that he knew I preferred him ‘above my chief joy.’ Indeed, I had no idea of joy from this world : I cared not where or how I lived, or what hardships I might have to endure, if I might only gain souls to Christ.”

Brainerd afterwards proceeded to visit the Indians on the Susquehannah, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Byram, a neighbouring minister, his interpreter, and two of his principal people from the Forks of Delaware. After the first day’s journey, they had nothing before them but a vast and dreary wilderness. Here they had by far the most difficult and dangerous travelling they had

ever experienced, having to make their way over lofty mountains, through deep valleys, and among hideous rocks. One evening, Brainerd's horse fell under him; but, providentially, he escaped without injury. The poor animal, however, broke its leg, and being nearly thirty miles from any house, nothing could be done to preserve its life. He was, therefore, obliged to kill it, and prosecute his journey on foot. At night they kindled a fire, cut up a few bushes, and placed them over their heads as a shelter from the frost; and, after committing themselves to God in prayer, they laid down on the ground and slept till morning. At length, on the fourth day, they arrived at an Indian town on the banks of the Susquehannah, called Opeholhaupung, containing twelve huts and about seventy people, including men, women, and children. Being received by them in a friendly manner, Brainerd continued several days, preaching regularly when the Indians were at home, while they, in order to hear him, put off their general hunting match, upon which they were just about to enter. Before leaving them, he intimated that he would visit them again the following spring—a proposal to which the chief and others of the people readily assented.

Many were the fatigues, dangers, and distresses which he endured in the course of his frequent journeys among the Indians; and no less singular were the faith, patience, and self-denial he manifested under such trials. "Thus," says he, "I have been frequently exposed, and sometimes have lain out the whole night; but hitherto God has preserved me. Such fatigues and hardships serve to wean me from the earth, and I trust,

will make heaven the sweeter. Formerly, when I have been exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the hope of a comfortable lodging, a warm fire, and other external accommodations; but now, through Divine grace, such things as these have less place in my heart, and my eye is directed more to God for comfort. In this world I lay my account with tribulation; it does not now appear strange to me. On meeting with difficulties, I do not flatter myself it will afterwards be better, but rather think how much worse it might be with me; how much greater trials many of God's children have endured; how much greater, perhaps, are yet in reserve for myself. Blessed be God, he makes the prospect of my journey's end a comfort to me under my sharpest trials; and instead of allowing the thought of my dissolution to excite terror or melancholy, he often accompanies it with exquisite joy."

According to his promise, Brainerd renewed his visit to the Indians on the river Susquehannah, in May, 1745, accompanied by his interpreter. In travelling through the wilderness, he suffered, as usual, excessive fatigues and hardships. He travelled about a hundred miles along the river, visited many of the Indian towns, and preached the gospel to some of different tribes through the medium of interpreters.

After his return he was ready to sink into the depths of despair. As his body was extremely feeble, in consequence of his late illness, so his hopes of the conversion of the Indians were scarcely ever so low. But from the midst of this dark cloud the prospect of this laborious and devoted servant of Christ began to brighten.

## CHAPTER V

*Brainerd's visit to Crosweeksung—Baptism of his interpreter—Zeal in instruction—Outpouring of the Holy Spirit—Several Indians baptized—Affecting scene—Journey to the Susquehanna—Indian scoffers—Idolatrous feast—A restorer of the ancient worship—Brainerd's exercises and devotedness—Labours at Crosweeksung resumed—Animating results—Deep interest in Divine things—Settlement at Cranberry—Celebration of the Lord's supper—The Divine blessing attends appointed means—Self-examination.*

HAVING heard of a number of Indians at a place called Crosweeksung, in New Jersey, about eighty miles from the Forks of Delaware, Brainerd proceeded to visit them about the middle of June; but, on his arrival, he found them scattered in small settlements, six, ten, twenty, and even thirty miles from each other, and not more than two or three families residing in the same place. He preached, however, to the few he found, consisting only of four women and several children; so inconsiderable was the congregation, and so auspicious seemed the spot which was soon to be the scene of a most remarkable work of Divine grace. After hearing Brainerd, these people set off and travelled ten or fifteen miles, to give notice to their friends that a minister had arrived, by which means their little company was in a few days increased to between forty and fifty, includ-

ing old and young. No objection, no cavilling, no murmur of opposition was heard, though in time past they had manifested as strong a dislike to the gospel as any of the Indians ; and several of them had even lately been much enraged at his interpreter for telling them something about Christianity. Now, however, they were extremely anxious to obtain instruction ; they asked Brainerd to preach to them twice a day, that so they might learn as much as possible during his stay ; and they appeared to listen to his discourses with the utmost seriousness and attention. This favourable disposition he attributed to the exertions of one or two of their own people, who, having heard him some time before, had, on their return, endeavoured to shew their friends the evils of idolatry, and of other practices common among them ; a circumstance which may afford the Christian missionary some consolation under his severest trials from the want of success ; for should none for a season crown his labours in his own neighbourhood, yet, perhaps, some who have heard the gospel from his lips, may, meanwhile, be instrumental in preparing the way for its introduction even among distant tribes.

After spending about a fortnight at Crosweek-sung, Brainerd returned to the Forks of Delaware, and from this period these two places were alternately the principal scenes of his labours. Soon after his arrival, he had the pleasure of baptizing his interpreter, together with his wife, the first of the Indians whom he received into the bosom of the church. He addressed the Indians with admirable fervency ; he scarcely knew when to give over ; and sometimes when Brainerd had concluded

his discourse and was returning home, he would stay behind to repeat and enforce what had been spoken. Nor did this appear to arise from spiritual pride, or from an affectation of being a public teacher, but from a spirit of faithfulness, and a sincere concern for their souls.

In the beginning of August, Brainerd paid a second visit to the Indians at Crosweeksung; and, on his arrival, was happy to find them not only still favourably disposed toward Christianity, but a number of them under serious concern for their souls; their convictions of their sinfulness and misery having been much promoted by the labours of the Rev. William Tennant, to whom he had advised them to make application. Scarcely had he returned, when these impressions increased and spread in a surprising manner. In two or three days, the inquiry was general among them, "What must we do to be saved?" Such was their tenderness of heart, that a few words concerning their souls would make the tears flow in streams down their cheeks; often, in their public assemblies, a dry eye was scarcely to be seen; and it was astonishing to observe, how they were melted with the love of the Redeemer, and with the invitations of the gospel, when not a word of terror was uttered.

One day after Brainerd had preached on the parable of the great supper, and when he was speaking with such as were under concern about their souls, the Spirit of God appeared to descend on the whole assembly, and with astonishing energy overpowered all opposition, like a mighty torrent, that, with irresistible force, sweeps before it whatever comes in its way. It seemed as if he now beheld a second Pentecost. Almost the whole

congregation, the old, the middle-aged, and the young, were overwhelmed with its influence. Even the most stubborn hearts were made to bow. One of the principal Indians, who previously had felt secure in the armour of self-righteousness, because he possessed more knowledge than most of his countrymen, and who only the day before had asserted, with the utmost assurance, that he had been a Christian for upwards of ten years, was now impressed with deep concern on account of his sinful, miserable state; his self-confidence vanished like a vision of the night, and his tears flowed in streams down his cheeks. There was also a young woman, who was so thoughtless and ignorant, that she seemed scarcely to know she had a soul, but who having heard of something strange among the Indians, came to see what was the matter. Having called at Brainerd's lodgings by the way, he informed her of his design to preach immediately, at which she laughed and seemed to mock. She came, however, to hear him, and before he had concluded his discourse, was so impressed with her sinfulness and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart; she could neither walk, nor sit, nor stand, without being supported. When public worship was over, she lay prostrate on the ground, praying in the most fervent manner, and neither took notice of others, nor returned them any answer when they spoke to her. The burden of her cry was, "Have mercy on me, O God, and help me to give thee my heart." In this manner she continued most importunate in supplication for several hours together: and thus she who "came to scoff returned to pray."

The whole assembly indeed appeared, like some of old, pricked in their hearts. Almost all of them were crying for mercy, either within or without the house. So overwhelmed were they with a sense of sin, so absorbed in serious reflection, that no one appeared to observe another; but each prayed as freely, and probably, in his own apprehension, as secretly, as if he had been in the midst of a desert, far removed from every human eye. Such as had been awakened for some time, it was observed, complained chiefly of the corruption of their hearts; those who were newly impressed, of the wickedness of their lives. It is also worthy of notice, that those who had lately obtained relief, appeared, on this occasion, calm and composed, rejoicing in Christ Jesus as their God and Saviour. Some of them took their weeping friends by the hand, telling them of the love of Christ, and of the comfort which is enjoyed in him; and on this ground invited them to come and give him their hearts.

This effect was not transient; it lasted, in a greater or less degree, for a considerable time. Every sermon now seemed productive of good; some were newly awakened, further impressed, or comforted.

As there was now a considerable number of the Indians, who gave satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their conversion, Brainerd, after explaining to them the nature of baptism, administered that ordinance to twenty-five of them in one day, namely, fifteen adults, and ten children, in the presence of a large congregation of white people. After the crowd of spectators had retired, he called the baptized together, and addressed

them in particular. He warned them of the evil and danger of indifference in religion, after making so public a profession of it ; he reminded them of the solemn obligations under which they were placed, to live devoted to God ; he gave them some directions respecting their conduct in life, encouraged them to watchfulness, stedfastness, and devotion ; and set before them the comfort on earth, and the glory in heaven, which await the faithful followers of the Lamb. To all of them, this was a most interesting and delightful season. The baptized Indians appeared to rejoice in their solemn dedication to the service of God ; their hearts were engaged, and cheerful in duty ; love reigned among them, and displayed itself in the most simple and unaffected manner. Several of the other Indians, when they saw and heard these things, were much impressed, weeping most bitterly, and longing to be partakers of the comfort and joy that their countrymen appeared to possess.

On the following day, Brainerd, after appealing for some time to the Indians, addressed himself to those in particular who hoped they were partakers of Divine grace, representing to them the happiness which Christ confers on his people on earth, and the glory he prepares for them in heaven. Scarcely had he begun to speak in this strain, when the Christian Indians appeared dissolved in love to the Redeemer, mingled with desire after the full enjoyment of him, and of a taste of perfect holiness of heart and life. They wept affectionately, yet joyfully. Their tears, and sobs, and sighs, were accompanied with inward peace and comfort ; a circumstance which seemed

to manifest, that the whole was the effect of a spirit of adoption, not of that spirit of bondage under which many of them had so lately groaned. The sacred influence spread over the whole assembly, which now consisted of nearly one hundred Indians, including both old and young, almost all of whom were either animated with joy in Christ Jesus, or impressed with concern for an interest in him.

Having now been nearly a month in this quarter, Brainerd proposed undertaking a new journey to the Susquehannah, as this was the best season of the year for finding the Indians at home.

In his way thither, he visited the Forks of Delaware, where he now found the Indians much more impressed with religion, and more deeply affected in hearing the word than before. Several of them, indeed, had been at Crosweeksung, and had there beheld, and, it was hoped, felt the power of Divine truth. Observing a man, who had obtained comfort, and who appeared truly pious, dissolved in tears, Brainerd asked him why he now wept. To this he replied, "When I thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and how he shed his blood for sinners, I could not help weeping." Then he burst into tears, and cried again. Brainerd afterwards asked his wife, who had also obtained consolation, why she wept. "Because," answered she, "the Indians here will not come to Christ, as well as those at Crosweeksung." He then inquired whether she had of late enjoyed the presence of Christ in prayer, as in time past. She replied, he had been near to her: sometimes when she was at

prayer alone, her heart so loved to pray, she could not bear to leave the place. In this part of the country, however, there were several Indians who had always refused to hear Brainerd preach, and even manifested an inveterate hatred to those who attended his ministry. These now became more violent in their opposition than ever, scoffing at religion, and asking the converts the most insulting questions, as, "How often they had cried? Whether they had not cried enough to do the turn?" Thus the Christian Indians began soon to have "trial of cruel mockings," the uniform reward of serious, vital religion in every age, and in every part of the globe.

Leaving this place, Brainerd proceeded on his journey to the Susquehannah, directing his course toward an Indian town named Shomokin, about a hundred and twenty miles to the westward, and travelled down the river to Juneauta, an Indian town through which he had passed in his last journey. An idolatrous feast he here witnessed; it pierced him, like a dagger, to the heart.

Here he met with a zealous reformer of the Indian religion, or rather a restorer of what he considered their ancient mode of worship. But of all the spectacles he ever saw, none appeared so horrible, none excited such images of terror in his mind, none corresponded so nearly with the common idea of the infernal powers. He presented himself to him in his priestly garb, consisting of a coat of bear-skins hanging down to his toes, a bear-skin cap on his head, and a pair of bear-skin stockings on his feet; a large wooden face, the one half painted black, the other of a tawny colour

like the Indians, with an extravagant mouth, cut extremely awry. In his hand was the instrument he employed for music in his idolatrous worship: it was a tortoise-shell with some corn in it, fixed on a piece of wood for a handle. As he came forward he beat time with his rattle, and danced with all his might; but allowed no part of his body, not even his fingers, to be seen. His appearance and gestures were so unlike all that was human, that when he came near, Brainerd could not help shrinking back with horror, though it was then noon-day, and he knew perfectly who it was. It appears he had a house, in which were several images, and the ground was beaten almost as hard as a rock by his frequent and violent dancing. Brainerd conversed with him about the principles of Christianity: some of them he liked; others he disliked. God, he said, had taught him his religion; and he never would relinquish it: he was anxious, however, to find some who would cordially join with him in it, for the Indians were grown very careless and degenerate. It appeared, from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that he was a great enemy to their drinking spirituous liquors, and when he could not dissuade them from that ruinous practice, he used to leave them, and go crying into the woods. Some of his sentiments, indeed, were rational and just; and Brainerd even informs us, there was something in his temper and disposition more like true religion than any thing he ever beheld in a pagan. He appeared to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way; and, on this account, was derided by his countrymen as a precise zealot, who made a needless noise about religion.

Having again failed in his attempts to introduce Christianity on the Susquehannah, Brainerd returned to Crosweeksung, and, on his arrival, was much struck with the vast difference between the Indians there and his congregation at this place. To dwell with the one was like being banished from God and all his saints; to live with the other, like being received into his presence and family. Yet, only a few months before, these were as thoughtless, as barbarous, as averse to Christianity, as those on the Susquehannah; but now, instead of engaging in idolatrous feasts and drunken revels, they worshipped the God of heaven, received his word, and lived devoted to his glory. Such is the power of Divine grace! Such the transforming influence of the gospel!

On resuming his labours, Brainerd beheld the same powerful and happy effects attend his ministry as before. He was often wonderfully assisted in his public discourses, being enabled to adapt his sentiments and expressions to the understanding of the Indians, in such a manner as he never could have done by the most careful study; yet he spoke with as much ease and freedom, as if he had been addressing an ordinary congregation, who had been instructed in the principles of Christianity from their early years. Great emotion was often perceptible; yet there was no disturbance of the public worship: a deep impression was made on their hearts; but there was no boisterous agitation of their passions. All was powerful and efficacious; yet calm and peaceful.

One day, after a sermon on the transfiguration of Christ, Brainerd asked a woman, whom he

observed weeping most affectionately, what she now wanted. To this she replied: "Oh! to be with Christ: I know not how to stay." On another occasion, when a number of them were assembled in Brainerd's house, a woman burst forth in prayer and praises to God before them all, with many tears, crying, sometimes in English, and sometimes in Indian: "O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away; do let me die, and go to Jesus Christ. I am afraid, if I live, I shall sin again! O do let me die now; do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world! do take my soul away from this sinful place! O let me never sin any more! O what shall I do! what shall I do!" In this ecstacy she continued for some time, incessantly uttering these and similar expressions, and employing as her grand argument with God, to enforce her prayer, that if she lived, she should sin against him. When she had recovered a little, Brainerd asked her, if Christ was now precious to her soul. Turning to him, she replied, with tears in her eyes, and with the deepest tokens of humility: "I have often heard you speak of the goodness and the sweetness of Christ; that he was better than all the world. But, oh, I knew nothing of what you meant; I never believed you: I never believed you. But now I know it is true." Brainerd then asked, if she saw in Christ enough for the greatest of sinners. "Oh, enough, enough," she replied, "for all the sinners in the world, if they would but come." On hearing something of the glory of heaven, particularly that there was no sin there, she again fell into the same kind of ecstacy, and employed similar expressions as before: "O dear

Lord, do let me go ! O what shall I do ! what shall I do ! I want to go to Christ ! I cannot live ! O do let me die." In this pleasing frame she continued more than two hours, before she was well able to go home.

With the view of improving the Indians in Christian knowledge, Brainerd now began a catechetical exercise. Sometimes he examined them on some important point of divinity ; at others, on the discourses he had delivered to them ; but most commonly on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. In these engagements he had much satisfaction.

In February, 1746, a school was opened for instructing the Indians in reading and writing the English language, etc., under the care of an excellent schoolmaster, whom Brainerd had procured for this purpose. About thirty children immediately entered it, and made such surprising progress, that the teacher remarked, he never had English scholars, who, speaking generally, learned so rapidly. There were, also, about fifteen or twenty of the old people, who attended the school at night, when the length of the evenings would admit of it.

Besides attending to the religious and moral improvement of the Indians, Brainerd was anxious to obtain for them a fixed settlement, and to form them to habits of industry. By his advice they fixed on a spot at Cranberry, about fifteen miles from the place of their then residence, and proceeded to form a regular settlement upon it. Here they began to clear and plant their lands ; and in little more than twelve months, they had upwards of forty acres of English grain in the ground, and nearly as much Indian corn. In general, indeed,

they followed their secular occupations as well as could reasonably be expected, considering that, during the whole of their life, they had been habitually slothful. Much of the burden, however, of their temporal affairs devolved on Brainerd, as by themselves they were utterly incapable of arranging and managing them.

Thinking that a number of them were now prepared to become partakers of the Lord's supper, Brainerd, after instructing them more particularly in the nature and design of that ordinance, resolved on its administration. It was attended with great solemnity, singular devotion, and a sweet, yet powerful melting of their affections. During its administration, especially in the distribution of the bread, they were affected in so lively a manner, that it seemed as if "Christ Jesus had been set forth crucified among them." Brainerd afterwards walked from house to house to converse with the communicants; and he was happy to find that almost all of them had been refreshed "as with new wine." Never did he witness such an appearance of Christian love among any people.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Brainerd's disinterestedness — Serious illness — Animated prospect of dissolution — Brainerd's death — His character — Influence of natural temperament — Contrast between Brainerd and Fletcher — Rev. John Brainerd — Settlement of Indians — Statement of Dr. Dwight as to the causes of failure — Rev. Samuel Kirkland — Seizure of spirituous liquors — Pleasing change at Old Oneida — Success of Mr. Kirkland's exertions.*

INCESSANT as Brainerd was in his labours, numerous as were the difficulties he had to encounter, dreadful as were the hardships he had often to endure, yet so far was he from being weary of the life of a missionary, that now when he had the prospect of settling as the pastor of the Indian flock he had collected in the wilderness, he looked forward to it with apprehension, and considered it as a kind of trial. So ardent, so unabated was his zeal for the conversion of the heathen, that it was still his desire to spend his life in preaching the gospel from place to place, and in gathering souls afar off to the Redeemer. The feelings of that man, however distinguished he may be for birth, or talents, or learning, are not to be envied, who can read the exercises of his mind on this occasion, without admiration, mingled with self-abasement; they display a disinterestedness, zeal, and deadness

to the world, which perhaps have scarcely a parallel in modern times.

Brainerd originally intended to have remained a considerable time longer among the Indians on the Susquehannah, but was prevented from executing his design, not only by his own state, but by the sickness which then prevailed, and the indisposition of his companions. After being absent upwards of a month, he again arrived among his own people, and though now very ill, resumed his labours among them, so far as his exhausted strength would permit, often discoursing to them even from his bed. He once more administered the Lord's supper to his beloved flock ; and on this occasion the number of communicants amounted to nearly forty, besides some serious white people from the neighbourhood. After the service was concluded, he could scarcely walk home ; but was supported by his friends, and laid on bed, where he lay in pain till the evening. But, though his body was exhausted, his soul was refreshed by the sacred exercises of the day, and the delightful tokens of grace among his people.

Brainerd's disorder now increased so rapidly, that he was obliged to leave his beloved people in the beginning of November. Sometimes he was so low, that his friends despaired of his life, and even thought he could scarcely survive a day. He afterwards, however, recovered in a considerable degree ; and in the following spring he once more visited his beloved Indians, but was obliged to leave them almost immediately, and to continue riding about for his health. The loss of time which this occasioned was a severe trial to him, and often contributed, with other circumstances,

to inspire him with the most gloomy reflections. But though he was at first troubled with melancholy, an affection to which he was constitutionally subject, he afterwards became more cheerful, especially as the prospect of death drew near. One evening, when symptoms appeared, which he justly considered as a further token of the fatal progress of his disorder, he exclaimed : " Oh, the glorious time is now coming ! I have longed to serve God perfectly ; now he will gratify my desires." As other indications of approaching dissolution appeared, he became still more animated and cheerful. When he spoke of the period of his death, he used to call it, " that glorious day ;" nor was this because he should then be delivered from sorrow and pain, and raised to dignity and honour, for he considered that as comparatively a low and ignoble consideration, but because he should then be able to glorify God with a pure and perfect heart. One night, when he was attempting to walk a little, he thought within himself : " How infinitely sweet is it, to love God, and to be all for him !" Upon which it occurred to him : " You are not an angel, not lively and active." To this, his whole soul instantly replied : " I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven." The same evening, he exclaimed : " My heaven is to please God, to give all to him, to be wholly devoted to his glory ; that is the heaven I long for ; that is my religion ; that is my happiness, and always was, ever since, I suppose, I had any true religion. I do not go to heaven to get honour, but to give all possible glory and praise. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I

have a high or a low seat there ; but to love, and please, and glorify God is all. Had I a thousand souls, if they were worth any thing, I would give them all to him ; but I have nothing to give when all is done. My heart goes out to the burying ground : it seems to me a desirable place ; but, oh, to glorify God ! that is it, that is above all. It is a great comfort to me to think, that I have done a little for God in the world. Oh ! it is but a very small matter ; yet I have done a little, and I lament I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will."

He was now daily growing worse ; but yet, ill as he was, he eagerly employed the little strength which still remained, in some attempts to promote the glory of the Redeemer and the salvation of souls. It greatly refreshed him amidst all his sufferings, that he was enabled to contribute a little towards these important objects. Nature, however, was, at length, exhausted. He gradually sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and, after a severe struggle, breathed his last, October 9, 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age.

Thus died David Brainerd, a young man, whose extraordinary worth and piety entitle him to the warmest admiration and respect of the Christian world, and whose memory deserves to be embalmed to the latest generations. The whole number of Indians whom he collected together amounted to about a hundred and fifty ; though, when he first visited that part of the country, they did not amount to ten. Of these, near ninety were baptized, of whom about one half were adults,

the other children, and nearly forty were communicants. It is proper, however, to observe, that he baptized no adults, but such as gave satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion to Christ. There were many others of the Indians also under deep concern for their souls. Some months before his death, the children in the school amounted to upwards of fifty, of whom nearly thirty were reading in the New Testament, most of them were able to repeat the whole of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and many of them appeared under serious impressions of religion.\*

It is as truly as eloquently remarked, by the Rev. Robert Hall, that "The Life and Diary of David Brainerd exhibits a perfect pattern of the qualities which should distinguish the instructor of rude and barbarous tribes; the most invincible patience and self-denial, the profoundest humility, exquisite prudence, indefatigable industry, and such a devotedness to God, or rather such an absorption of the whole soul in zeal for the Divine glory and the salvation of men, as is scarcely to be paralleled since the age of the apostles. Such was the intense ardour of his mind, that it seems to have diffused the spirit of a martyr over the most common incidents of his life. His constitutional melancholy, though it must be regarded as a physical imperfection, imparts an additional interest and pathos to the narrative, since we more easily sympathize with the emotions of sorrow than of joy. There is a monotony in his feelings,

\* The reader will find many interesting particulars, both of Brainerd and Eliot, in their lives, which are among the volumes of "The Christian Biography," published by the Religious Tract Society.

it must be acknowledged, and consequently a frequent repetition of the same ideas, which will disgust a fastidious or superficial reader; but it is the monotony of sublimity."

Prone as many are to err on the point, in the estimate of themselves as well as others, no apology is required for an illustration of it, by the same eminent writer, in the following paragraph:—

"The Life of Fletcher, of Madeley, affords in some respect a parallel, in others a contrast, to that of Brainerd: and it is curious to observe how the influence of natural temperament varies the exhibition of the same principles. With a considerable difference in their religious views, the same zeal, the same spirituality of mind, the same contempt of the world, is conspicuous in the character of each. But the lively imagination, the sanguine complexion of Fletcher, permit him to triumph and exult in the consolatory truths and prospects of religion. He is a seraph, who burns with the ardours of Divine love; and, spurning the fetters of mortality, he almost habitually seems to have anticipated the rapture of the beatific vision. Brainerd, oppressed with a constitutional melancholy, is chiefly occupied with the thoughts of his pollutions and defects in the eyes of Infinite Purity. His is a mourning and conflicting piety, imbued with the spirit of self-abasement, breathing itself forth in 'groanings which cannot be uttered;' always dissatisfied with itself, always toiling in pursuit of a purity and perfection unattainable by mortals. The mind of Fletcher was habitually brightened with gratitude and joy for what he had obtained: Brainerd was actuated with a restless solicitude for farther acquisitions. If Fletcher

soared to all the heights, it may be affirmed, with equal truth, that Brainerd sounded all the depths of Christian piety; and while the former was regaling himself with fruit from the tree of life, the latter, on the waves of an impetuous sea, was 'doing business in the mighty waters.'

"Both equally delighted and accustomed to lose themselves in the contemplation of the Deity, they seemed to have surveyed that Infinite Object under different aspects; and while Fletcher was absorbed in the contemplation of infinite benignity and love, Brainerd sunk into nothing in the presence of immaculate purity and holiness.

"The different situations in which they were placed, had probably considerable effect in producing or heightening their respective peculiarities. Fletcher exercised his ministry in the calm of domestic life, surrounded with the beauties of nature; Brainerd pursued his mission in a remote and howling wilderness, where, in the midst of uncultivated savages, he was exposed to intolerable hardships and fatigues."

Among the many difficulties attending the christianizing and civilization of the Indians, their living in small villages scattered through the wilderness was not the least. It was, therefore, an object for some years, with the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to collect them together into one place, and to fix them in regular habitations. This, indeed, had been accomplished, in part, by David Brainerd, previous to his death; and in 1759, his brother, John Brainerd, settled on a tract of land, which was purchased on their account by the government of New Jersey. The extent of country under his charge, was a

hundred miles east and west, and nearly eighty north and south. The land for the use of the Indians consisted of about four thousand acres, and was situated near the centre of the country, between the river Delaware and the Atlantic ocean. The soil was suitable for Indian corn, rice, beans, potatoes, English clover, and various kinds of fruit-trees, and wanted nothing but cultivation to supply the Indians with plenty of vegetables.

It does not appear, however, that this new arrangement was attended with that success which was expected or desired; and there is reason to fear that considerable declension took place.

During the American war, Mr. John Brainerd's correspondence with the society in Scotland was suspended, and toward the close of it, he died. He was succeeded, in 1783, in the charge of the Indian congregation, by Daniel Simon, an Indian, who had been ordained to the ministry; but it was soon after found necessary to suspend him from his office, on account of drunkenness and other irregularities. No missionary was appointed to succeed him; and though the people were sometimes addressed by the neighbouring ministers, they grew, it appears, very wicked, and were, in consequence, in a miserable state. The following testimony, however, deserves to be recorded:—

“About forty years since,” says Dr. Dwight, “there stood within the limits of Yarmouth an Indian church, in the neighbourhood of which, called Indian Town, resided a small congregation of praying Indians, of the Paukunnakut or Wampanoag tribe. This was among the last relics of the efforts successfully made by our ancestors for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity.

From the obstinate belief which extensively prevails, that these people can never become Christians until they shall have been first civilized, one would naturally suppose the trial never to have been made, or to have been made without any success; yet history informs us, that our ancestors spread the religion of the gospel among them, with as few obstacles and as happy effects, as were, perhaps, ever known to attend efforts of the like nature among any barbarians since the early days of the church.

" From Major-general Gooking, a perfectly unexceptionable witness, we learn with certainty, that in the colony of Massachusetts' Bay, there were, in his time, eleven hundred praying Indians in fourteen villages. In the colony of Plymouth there were, at the same time, including those of all ages, not far from six thousand. In Martha's Vineyard and Nantuket there were, perhaps, fifteen hundred more. When to these we add those in Connecticut, the number may be estimated at not far from six thousand. These facts perfectly refute the opinion, that there is some peculiar difficulty attending the conversion of Indians, which is inherent in their character or manners. It cannot, however, be denied, that the attempts which have been made in modern times to spread the influence of the gospel among them, have, in a great measure, been successful. Two great causes have, in my apprehension, produced this effect. The first of these was the general persuasion, excited by Philip, that the English were enemies to the Indians, and were embarked in a general design to possess themselves of their lands. This persuasion appears to have spread,

by the agency of that crafty chieftain, throughout the greatest part of New-England, in a manner remarkably rapid and efficacious. So firmly were the Indians satisfied of the hostility and sinister designs of the colonists, that the impression has never been effectually erased. Whenever our people approach them, therefore, they are met with apprehension and dislike, strongly cherished by the sense of their own inferiority and diminution, and of the population and power of the Americans. The other cause of this difficulty is found in the character and conduct of those who are called Indian traders. These are a class of men, who, for a long period, employed themselves in exchanging coarse European goods and ardent spirits, muskets, powder and ball, flints, hatchets, knives, and some other commodities, with the Indians, for furs and peltry. Sometimes they resided among them permanently, and sometimes occasionally, and in either case often acquired considerable ascendancy over them. Generally they were men of loose lives, as well as of loose principles. In their trade they were greedy and oppressive, and in their ordinary conduct licentious. A great part of their gains arose from the sale of ardent spirits; a business, to the success of which, the vice, particularly the intemperance, of the Indians was indispensable. Against Christianity and its missionaries, therefore, these men arrayed themselves, and made the most unfavourable impressions concerning both on the minds of their customers. At the same time they themselves were white men, and, in the view of the Indians, were of course Christians. With Christianity, therefore, these ignorant people almost necessarily connected the unprin-

cipated and profligate lives of the traders, as being often the only, and always the prominent, examples of what they supposed to be the proper effects of the Christian religion.\*

"To these great causes must, in certain cases, be added a third, which sometimes was not inferior to either in its efficacy ; I mean the very censurable character of that class of men, who usually plant themselves upon the frontier of the English settlements, a class composed principally of foresters. These men almost, of course, alienate the minds of the Indians from every thing adopted by the colonists.

In November, 1764, Mr. Samuel Kirkland, son of a minister at Norwich, in Connecticut, after finishing his education at Nassau Hall, in New Jersey College, set off for the country of the Senecas, with the view of learning their language, and of introducing Christianity among them. Having been obliged to stop some weeks by the way for a convoy, he afterwards proceeded on his journey, under the conduct of two Indians of that tribe. As the ground was then covered with snow, he travelled in snow shoes, with his pack of provisions on his back, about two hundred and fifty

\* The same effects are produced in the minds of the Hindoos, by the loose lives of the British inhabitants of Hindostan. The most solid, the most operative objection brought by them against the Christian religion, and that which is obviated with the greatest difficulty, has been derived from this source. The Mexicans made the same objection, and, as they thought, irresistibly, against the religion that was taught them by the Spaniards. But the inhabitants of Tanjore, after having been a short time witnesses of the life of Swartz, never thought of questioning either the reality or the excellence of his religion.

miles, through a wilderness where there was no path, and no houses in which to lodge. After journeying in this manner for seventeen days, he reached a Seneca town called Kanasadago. Here he met with a kind reception from the Indians; but it was not long before he was involved in unforeseen difficulties.

In May, 1766, he returned from the country of the Senecas, and after being ordained to the office of the ministry, set off for Kanonwarohare, one of the principal towns of the Oneida Indians, accompanied by two or three other missionaries and schoolmasters from Dr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon, in Connecticut. A school had already been established in that village; the children who attended it made great progress in learning; and the Indians in general were extremely anxious to have a minister settled among them. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Kirkland, soon after his arrival, called them all together, and told them, that if they would solemnly engage to abandon the practice of drunkenness, and enable him to carry their determination into execution, by appointing six or eight of their principal men to assist him, with full power to seize all spirituous liquor, and either to destroy it, or dispose of it as he should think proper, he would remain among them; but if they would not consent to this proposal, he would then leave them. After some days consideration, they agreed to this plan, and for a period of about three months only two were guilty of intoxication; and one of these was the only person in the town who opposed Mr. Kirkland's measures.

Soon after this event, Mr. Kirkland visited the

neighbouring town of Old Oneida, the inhabitants of which had manifested the utmost aversion to the gospel, and were so violent against the new regulation respecting spirituous liquors, that they employed every artifice to check the progress of the reformation; and even near relations, such as brothers and sisters, would not visit each other after the agreement was made. Now, however, they were much impressed by the word; and the inhabitants of the two villages not only came to hear the gospel with each other, but their mutual differences were completely removed, and a formal reconciliation was effected. The mission among the Oneidas now assumed a most promising aspect; it seemed as if "the wilderness would soon rejoice and blossom as the rose." The Lord's day was observed by the Indians with the utmost strictness; drunkenness was in a great measure banished from among them; and a number appeared to be sincere converts to the faith of Christ. Even a poor wretch, who had lately sought Mr. Kirkland's life, was under deep convictions of sin, and made a public confession of his guilt in a most humble manner.

The following extract of a letter, which some of the Oneidas wrote in December, 1770, on receiving some small pecuniary assistance, exhibits no unfavourable idea of their powers of expression, as well as of the state of religion among them:—  
"The holy word of Jesus has got place amongst us, and advances. Many have lately forsaken their sins to appearance, and turned to God. There are some among us who are very stubborn and strong; but Jesus is almighty, and has all strength, and his holy word is very strong too. Therefore we hope

it will conquer and succeed more and more. We say no more, only we ask our fathers to pray for us, though they are at a great distance. Perhaps by-and-by, through the strength and mercy of Jesus, we shall meet in his kingdom above. Farewell.

“ TAGAWAROW, chief of the Bear tribe.

“ SUGHNAGEAROT, chief of the Wolf tribe.

“ OJEKHETA, chief of the Turtle tribe.” \*

In June, 1778, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, took Mr. Kirkland under their patronage. During the American war, which began not long after, he was much interrupted in his labours among the Indians, as the country was in a very unsettled state; but yet he often visited them, preaching the gospel, and performing other ministerial duties, notwithstanding the danger and fatigue to which it necessarily exposed him.

After the conclusion of the war, the Oneidas made a grant of land to a considerable number of other Indians of different tribes, that they might come and settle in their neighbourhood; and they expected that, in the course of two years, there would be upwards of a thousand of their countrymen in their vicinity disposed to listen to the word of God, and to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Having now the prospect of being again settled in their own country, they were extremely anxious that Mr. Kirkland should return and live among them. “ We have been attending,” said

\* The Oneida nation is divided into three tribes, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.

they, "for many years to the vast difference between white people and Indians. We have laboured much to investigate the cause; for the one are in prosperous circumstances, the other are indigent and wretched. The one appear to be the favourites of heaven, and honourable in the sight of men; the other to be despised, and rejected of both. We Indians, therefore, must alter our conduct. We must give up our pagan customs. We must unite with all our wisdom and strength, to cultivate the manners and civilization of the white people, who are thus distinguished by the favour and protection of the Great Spirit above, and embrace the religion of Christ; or we shall, before many years, be not only despised by the nations of the earth, but utterly rejected by the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the white people.

" We entreat our father to make one trial more for christianizing the Indians, at least for one, if not for two years; and if there be no encouragement after this, that we shall be built up as a people and embrace the religion of Christ, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin."

Agreeably to the request of the Indians, Mr. Kirkland returned and settled among them in the autumn of 1785. In several villages, particularly Kanonwarohare, Old Oneida, and Kanadesko, he found the people extremely desirous of religious instruction, with the exception of only two or three, who were professed pagans, so that they would assemble for that purpose at almost any time of the day. The order, attention, and solemnity which appeared in their meetings, were often truly

delightful. They never seemed tired of hearing the word of God : their applications for instruction were frequently so incessant, that Mr. Kirkland had scarcely leisure to take his food. Upwards of seventy of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. Their views of Divine truth were, in general, scriptural and rational, though some appeared to have a tincture of enthusiasm. Their convictions of sin were deep and pungent ; and, in many instances, the sense of its evil seemed to rise higher than the fear of punishment. There was, at the same time, a remarkable reformation of manners among them. Many who had been guilty of the foulest crimes, and had led an extremely dissipated life, now became sober, regular, and industrious : for some months there was not a single instance of intoxication in two of the villages ; but this fair prospect was afterwards overcast, religion declined among them, and even sunk to a very low ebb,

In the summer of 1796, the Rev. Drs. Morse and Belknap proceeded, by desire of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, to the Oneida country, in order to inquire into the state of the mission among the Indians. By their report, it appears, that at the last annual enumeration, the number of Indians, including men, women, and children, under the care of Mr. Kirkland, amounted to six hundred and twenty-eight. For some years past, however, there had been no pure Oneidas. There was scarcely, indeed, an individual among them who was not descended on one side or other from English, Scotch, Irish, French, German, or Dutch parents, and some also from negroes. Among them there were only

eight persons who were professed pagans ; but though the others called themselves Christians, the greater part of them appeared to have nothing of Christianity but the name. Of the women, there were thirty-six who were reputed sober, and among these Mr. Kirkland reckoned twenty-four to be serious Christians. Of the men, there were only three or four of a sober character ; and at the last communion only one attended.

Though the number of professed pagans was small, yet the whole nation, notwithstanding their opportunities for religious improvement, were still influenced in a great degree by their ancient mythology. They were all firm believers in witchcraft and the agency of invisible beings ; they paid great regard to dreams and omens, and attributed the most common events to causes with which they could not have the most distant connexion. Some time before, an Indian was drowned in one of the Oneida creeks, which were annually visited by salmon. When the fishing season returned, they imagined that none of these creatures could be found in that stream, until a gentleman from Albany, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, persuaded them that he had put something into the water to purify it ; upon which, they resorted to the creek, caught the fish as formerly, and thought themselves much obliged to this person for his kindness. In the savage state, it was usual for them to live in licentious habits.

Murders were said to be less frequent than formerly ; but still they were by no means uncommon. A melancholy instance of this kind, which happened a few days before the arrival of Doctors Morse and Belknap, exhibits a striking

proof of the relaxed state of society among them. Two young Oneidas having had a quarrel, the one shot the other dead. The father of the deceased immediately went and dispatched the murderer, and no further notice was taken of the matter.

To excessive drinking of spirituous liquors they were generally addicted, when they had them in their power, except the few persons already mentioned. The chiefs, indeed, have frequently attempted to prohibit the introduction and sale of that pernicious article; but from the small degree of power they possess, and the unquenchable desire which the people have for ardent spirits, these efforts have hitherto proved ineffectual, nor does it seem likely that any measures of this kind will be attended with success.

No external circumstance has contributed more to impede the progress of Christianity, and the arts of civilization among the Indians of North America, than the introduction of spirituous liquors among them by the white people. Of this they have long been sensible; but though they have occasionally displayed much eloquence in declaiming against the rum trade, and have frequently passed excellent laws with regard to it, yet so little resolution have they, that they often fall before the first temptation that presents itself.

The zeal and perseverance, the piety, benevolence, and activity which Mr. Kirkland displayed in promoting Christianity and civilization among the Indians, had afforded the highest gratification to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; but after receiving a report, they were much dissatisfied with his conduct, and judged it proper to dismiss him from their service. His

health, indeed, was now on the decline, and for two years he was entirely disabled from all public duty. Afterwards, however, he recovered not only his health, but, in a considerable degree, his reputation, and continued to labour among the Indians under the patronage of the corporation of Harvard College. At length, after having spent upwards of forty years as a missionary among the Indians, he died at Paru, in the county of Oneida, March 28, 1808, aged sixty-seven.

After the death of Mr. Kirkland, the Northern Missionary Society took the Oneida Indians under their patronage, and sent the Rev. Mr. Jenkins to settle among them. An Indian named Abram also laboured with great activity and zeal in promoting religion among his countrymen.

The episcopal church of New York, supported Mr. Eleazar Williams for several years at Oneida Castle. He is the son of a chief of the Iroquois nation, and was licensed by the bishop of New York, in 1816, in compliance with the earnest request of the Oneida chiefs. He became eminently useful to the pagan party, who, in 1817, removed their idols, professed the faith once delivered to the saints, and united with the old Christian party in erecting a new place for public worship. In 1821, there were between forty and fifty communicants. A school has also been established by other friends of religion, and considerable progress has been made in civilization.

An interesting account was given a few years since, of the death of an aged Oneida chief. The following conversation took place on one of the visits of the missionary :—" Brother William, you fail very fast." " Yes." " Do you fear

death?" "No." "Is your confidence in Christ unshaken?" "Yes: I very happy *here*," putting his hand on his breast. "Yes: oh yes!" and his countenance brightened as he spoke. On the day of his death he exhorted his friends to be faithful; and he died without a struggle or a groan.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Spirit of primitive Christianity—Colonization by the United Brethren—Their first labours—Conversion of Tschoop—New chapel at Chekomeko—Retirement to Bethlehem—Settlement at Gnadenhuett—The convert Nicodemus—Visit to other towns—Acts of friendship—Extraordinary message—Trophies of Divine grace—Dreadful attack—Evil overruled for good—Rise of fanatics—Refuge at Bethlehem—Sudden alarm—Journey to Philadelphia—White savages—Trials of the Indians—The convert Renatus.*

IN reference to primitive times, it has been said, "Every Christian was, in his degree, an apostle and a martyr; a witness to the truth by his life, and often by his heroic death. Christian missions in North America, have not only had their apostles, but their martyrs; and though, in some cases, life was preserved amidst appalling dangers and trials, it is easy to perceive in them a devotedness of heart, which, had it been required, would have promptly and cheerfully sacrificed it. Hitherto, attention has been given to the energetic and zealous exertions of Anglo-Americans; it is necessary now to detail the self-denying and laborious efforts of that interesting people who claim descent from the Hussites of Bohemia, and whose labours among the North American Indians, during the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, were pre-eminently blessed.

The trustees of Georgia having offered Count Zinzendorf a tract of land to be colonized by the United Brethren, it was gladly accepted, in the hope that a way would be prepared for preaching the gospel to the Indians. In this service many were found willing to engage, who left Germany in November, 1734, and formed a settlement on the river Ogache. But as their labours were soon interrupted, they retired to Pennsylvania; and after the lapse of a few years, others were induced to join one of them, brother Spangenberg, and to resume the arduous work. Among these devoted men was Christian Rauch, who having heard that an embassy of Mohikans were in the city, went in search of them, and, to his great joy, found they understood the Dutch language. Their appearance was ferocious, and they were much intoxicated. When, however, they had become sober, he addressed two of them, Tschoop and Shabash, and as they accepted his offer of Christian instruction, he was, with due Indian solemnity, declared their teacher. His removal to the Indian town Shekomeko was afterwards arranged.

Although at first received with great kindness, he was soon assailed by ridicule, and had to encounter many hardships. But continuing his self-denying and zealous labours, he was, after a time, allowed to behold some success, and Tschoop and Shabash became trophies of Divine power and grace. Grievous trials then arose; for the white people conceiving their interests would be injured, tried to prejudice the Indians against him, and to seduce them to inebriety, and even threatened the missionary's life. At length, however, his

meekness, courage, and perseverance, gained the admiration of the Indians, and removed the obstacles to intercourse. He frequently went among them, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep in their huts with the greatest composure.

Many were now powerfully impressed, but in no instance was the saving efficacy of truth more remarkable than in that of Tschoop. Before his conversion he was distinguished by every act of outrage and sin, and had even crippled himself by his debaucheries ; but now the lion was tamed, and the slave of Satan became a child of God and a preacher of righteousness. The account he once gave of his conversion, will best elucidate the striking change he experienced. "Brethren," said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst them ; therefore, I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to explain to us that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that ? Return to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came and said ; you must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, etc.' We answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think us ignorant of this ? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest to leave off these things. For who steal, lie, or are more drunken than thine own people ?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down, and spoke nearly as follows : 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and of earth ; he sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at

present. For this end, he became a man, gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for sinners, etc.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down, fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought, What kind of a man is this? There he lies and sleeps; I might kill him, and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep I dreamt of the blood of Christ shed for us. I found this to be widely different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, therefore, brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathens."

He and three others were subsequently admitted into the church of Christ, by baptism; ten Christians partook of the Lord's supper in March, 1743, and their number was augmented each succeeding month. In July, a new chapel was opened at Shekomeko, thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. Many heathen visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were present, the missionaries observed, that whenever two or three were standing together, the love of God, and the sufferings of Christ, formed the subject of their conversation. Such, indeed, was the zeal of the converts, that they often spake of Jesus to their countrymen till after midnight. Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, writing to one of the missionaries after a visit, says: "The faith of the Indians in our

Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teachers, as if they would eat his words. John (Tschoop) was the interpreter, and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. The text of Scripture, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,' appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen."

The bitterest persecution arose in the midst of success; and after the brethren had triumphed over some of the machinations of their foes, the sheriff of three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all religious meetings, commanded the missionaries to appear before the court, when an act was read to them, by which they were expelled from the country, under the old pretence of being in league with the French. The injustice of this act was acknowledged by every candid and unprejudiced person.

The missionaries now deemed it not only prudent, but obligatory to obey the lawful authority of the State, and therefore retired with heavy hearts, to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, which was originally built by colonists from Germany, being members of the brethren's church. To the minister, elders, and warden of this settlement, the superintendence of the Indian mission was committed. The meetings of the converts were, however, continued, and occasionally they were visited by their teachers. Once, when a large company was returning to Bethlehem, the circumstance of the wife of one of the missionaries being an Indian woman, furnished some ill-disposed justices at Sopus with a pretext for detaining them. They were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from cold and violent rain: and, when at length they were permitted to proceed, they were loaded with curses and reproaches. On another occasion, two brethren were arrested at Albany, and after enduring many indignities, were taken to New York, and confined in prison for seven weeks.

Compelled to leave Shekomeko, ten families of Christian emigrants went to Bethlehem, in April, 1746; and land having been purchased, a town was laid out and built, to which they gave the name of Gnadenhuetten, or tents of grace. Other Christian Indians from Shekomeko and Pachgatoc, where zealous effort had been made, removed hither; so that, in a short time, it contained more inhabitants than the two former. The church stood in a valley; on one side, upon rising ground, were the Indian houses, forming a crescent, and on the other, the mission-

house and the burying ground. Every Indian family had a plantation; and the road to other Indian towns lay through the settlement. In these various operations the brethren joined the Indians, and had their meals in common with them; but as the latter were unacquainted with building and husbandry, and unable to bear much fatigue, the greater part of the work fell on their teachers, which they cheerfully endured, considering it as done in the service of Christ. Meanwhile, the situation of the converts, who yet remained at Shekomeko and the neighbouring towns, became every day more embarrassing and trying. Some had been seduced to sinful practices, and others had imbibed prejudices against the missionaries. Most of them, however, became sensible of their errors, and were received by the brethren with open arms. One of them said, in the figurative style of the Indians, "I am a child, whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives him all he stands in need of; afterwards, the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent, and despises his counsel. At length the child, through his folly, loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, nakedness and want follow. Then, remembering how well he fared, he repents, and weeps day and night, scarcely presuming to return. This is precisely my case."

The temporal support of the congregation was an object of constant care, and a neighbouring plantation was purchased for cultivation. A saw-mill was erected, many earned a little money by cutting timber and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats: but hunting continued to be their chief support, and when provisions were scarce, they ga-

thered wild honey, chestnuts, and bilberries in the woods. The congregation too increased to about five hundred persons; useful regulations were made, schools were established, and the Christian spirit was happily exemplified, not only in peace and harmony, but in contentment amidst difficulties, and in patience under trials.

Assistants were raised up to the missionaries from the most experienced and gifted of the converts, who laboured with great zeal and fidelity, and always made the Scriptures the foundation of their discourse; adding, "Thus hath God our Creator loved us; this he hath done to save us; every sinner may approach confidently unto him. Thus we have been taught; we have received the gospel, and experienced the truth of it." Sometimes, however, they met with opposition.

Among the fruits of labour at this settlement, was Nicodemus, who, as a heathen, was exceeded by none in the practice of evil. He was, however, one of the first who experienced the power of the doctrines of the cross, and from being a man of turbulent spirit, he became patient and lowly, but strong in faith. In his conduct he was an example to all, and the change wrought in him was regarded with amazement. Gradually increasing in knowledge, he was appointed elder of the congregation, and in this office obtained universal respect.

His language was highly figurative. Once, when looking at the mill, he said to a missionary, "Brother, I discover something that rejoices my heart. I have seen the great wheel, and many little ones: every one was in motion, and seemed all alive, but suddenly, all stopped, and the mill was as dead. I then thought—Surely all depends

upon one wheel ; if the water runs upon that, every thing else is alive ; but when that ceases to flow, all appears dead. Just so it is with my heart, it is dead as the wheel : but as soon as Jesus' blood flows upon it, it gets life, and sets every thing in motion, and the whole man being governed by it, it becomes evident that there is life throughout. But when the heart is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually, and at length all life ceases."

On another occasion he said : " I crossed the Lecha to-day in a boat, and being driven into the rapid current, was forced down the stream, and nearly overset. I then thought—This is exactly the case of men who know not the Lord Jesus Christ, they are irresistibly hurried away by sin, cannot help themselves, and are in danger of being eternally lost ; but as soon as our mighty Saviour takes the helm, we receive power to withstand the rapid stream of this world and sin."

When the doctrine of the Holy Spirit became more clear to his mind, he compared his body to a canoe, and his heart to the rudder ; adding, " that the Holy Spirit was the master, sitting at the rudder, and directing the vessel."

In his last illness, he thought much of the resurrection, and said : " I am now an old man, and shall soon depart to the Lord ; my body will soon be interred in our burying ground, but it will rise most glorious ; and when our Saviour shall call those who have fallen asleep in him, they will rise to newness of life and glory." At the same time, his countenance appeared as serene as that of an angel ; he repeated his ardent desire to be at home with Christ, and assured his friends that

his joy in the Lord had almost overpowered all sensation of pain, adding, "I am poor and needy, and therefore amazed at the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is always with me."

Other cases equally interesting might be given, but for the limits of this volume.

The labours of the brethren, at this period, were not confined to Gnadenhuetten. They improved every opportunity that offered for propagating the gospel, and undertook many difficult and perilous journeys. To gain entrance among the Iroquois, they made several visits to Shomokin, and other towns on the Susquehannah, and by degrees established themselves there. The inhabitants of Shomokin being noted for ferocity and licentiousness, the missionaries witnessed many barbarous and profligate scenes, and were more than once in danger of being murdered by the intoxicated natives. During a journey to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois, and the seat of the great council, a solemn league, executed with due Indian formalities, was made between the council and brethren, by which the latter obtained permission for two of them to reside in that country for the purpose of learning the language. But no permanent advantages were gained by these exertions. Their endeavours in other places were more successful.

In the summer of 1752, an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose, consisting in all of one hundred and seven persons, arrived at Gnadenhuetten, and formed a solemn league of friendship with the brethren. Another embassy of these tribes, attended by three Iroquois Indians, and consisting of twenty-two persons, came to them in the following spring, and, to their no small astonishment,

proposed to them to quit that settlement and remove to Wayomik, a town belonging to the Shawanoes. They assigned no particular reason for this unexpected proposal. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that it was in reality an act of friendship; for as the savages were secretly determined to join the French in hostilities against the English, they wished to furnish a safe retreat to their countrymen of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wayomik into their neighbourhood, to make room for the Christian Indians.

However unpleasant the projected removal was, the brethren would not interfere, lest the old calumny of intending to enslave the Indians should be revived; and, therefore, left their converts to act entirely as they pleased. After evincing considerable reluctance at quitting their pleasant settlement, and real sorrow at being thus separated from their teachers, upwards of eighty finally determined to remove to Wayomik and Neskopeko. After their arrival in these places, they were occasionally visited by some of the missionaries, who found them still walking in the fear of God, and that, by their zealous testimony of Christ and his atonement, they were made a blessing to their heathen countrymen. But their external situation was by no means desirable.

The missionaries were still lamenting the emigration of so many of their converts from Gnadenhuetten, when their sorrow was unexpectedly turned into joy, by the arrival of the Indians from Meniolagomekah. This enlivened the congregation, and animated the native assistants in the dis-

charge of their duties. Their external troubles, however, did not end : they had not only a kind of tax imposed, to show their dependence on the Iroquois, but the following very singular message was sent them : "The great head, that is, the council in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not : they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to Wayomik, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares,\* and set them down also in Wayomik ; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant and think on God ; but if they will not hear, the great head will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron (meaning they would set their houses on fire) and shoot them through the head with musket-balls." The chief of the Shawanose, who delivered this message, then turned to the missionaries, earnestly requiring them not to hinder their converts from removing to Wayomik.

This message spread general consternation through Gnadenhuetten, especially the concluding address to the missionaries. It was soon discovered, that this proposal did not originate in the great council at Onondago, but with the Oneida tribe and the warlike Mahikans and Delawares, aided by some persons of consequence in Philadelphia, who thereby hoped to obtain some sinister end they had in view. The brethren left the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten to their free choice, whether to go or stay, only warning them, in an affectionate manner, of the danger to which their souls might be exposed by their removal. This warning was addressed to them not without good

\* The inhabitants of Gnadenhutten belonged to these nations.

reason, as some of the baptized had lately relapsed into heathenism, and even become the seducers of others. The address had the desired effect. Most of those whose conduct had been blameable, ingenuously owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest; which was granted with joy. The grace of God was, perhaps, never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible, appear before a whole body of people as a humbled sinner, and asking pardon of God and those whom he had offended. Thus most of them resolved to stay, and they remained firm to their resolution. When, shortly after, the message was repeated in a more stern tone, an Indian brother said: "What can the chief of the six nations give me in exchange for my soul? They never consider how that will fare at last." Another remarked: "God who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please; I am not afraid of the wrath of man; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without his will." And a third observed: "If even one of them should lift up his hatchet against me, and say, 'Depart from the Lord and the brethren,' I would not do it."

The congregation at Gnadenhuetten had now a short season of rest, and, walking in the fear of the Lord and the comforts of the Holy Ghost, was edified. The gospel had also free course in other places: but repose was of short duration. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, broke out, spreading terror and confusion through the whole country. The first outrage was committed near Shomokin, where three of the missionaries resided,

but, through the mercy of God, they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten were not so fortunate. Being considered as friends to the British government, they were in the most imminent danger of being attacked by the Indians in league with the French; and as the most dreadful reports reached them from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greater part, however, stayed in the settlement, resigned to the Divine will, giving the most encouraging assurances that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. Late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, while the missionaries were at supper, their attention was suddenly aroused by the continual barking of dogs, which was followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the mission-house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing before the house, with their pieces pointed towards the door. They immediately fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. His wife and some others were wounded, but ran up stairs into the garret, and barricadoed the door with bedsteads. Hither the savages pursued them; but not being able to force it open, they set fire to the house, which was soon enveloped in flames. Two of the brethren had previously made their escape by jumping out of a back window: and now a boy leaped down from the flaming roof, though not till one of his cheeks had been grazed by a ball, and his hand much burnt. Sister Partsch, whose husband had escaped out of the window, likewise

ventured to leap down from the burning roof. Unobserved by the enemies, she hid herself behind a tree on rising ground, from whence she had a full view of the tragical scene. Brother Fabricius, in attempting to make his escape in the same manner, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. They then seized him, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. Eleven persons belonging to the mission were burned alive, among whom was a child only fifteen months old. Sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, was heard to exclaim : “ ‘Tis all well, dear Saviour ! I expected nothing else.” The murderers now set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay, and cattle were consumed ; and, having made a hearty meal, they departed.

How often may it be said, “ Thy way, O Lord, is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known ! ” At other times we may behold his goings, or if a mystery appears in the Divine dispensations, it is soon unravelled. Thus the melancholy occurrence just related, proved the deliverance of the Christian Indians : for, on hearing the report of guns, seeing the flames, and learning the dreadful cause from those who escaped, they offered to attack the enemy without delay ; but, being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and the settlement was thus in a few minutes cleared of its inhabitants. By the exertions and persuasions of the missionary Shebosh, who alone remained at Gnadenhuetten, most of the fugitive converts returned the next day. They now hoped to remain

in safety, as, in consequence of a petition presented by the brethren at Bethlehem, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a party of soldiers into these parts, for the protection of the Christian Indians and the country in general. But, on new year's day, 1756, the savages attacked these troops, set fire to the settlement, and laid waste all the plantations; by which both the congregation and the missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

Disastrous as were these events, they served to avert a far greater calamity. The adversaries of the brethren had secretly formed a design of overthrowing their whole establishment in North America. The most unfounded reports of their being in league with the French were industriously disseminated, and a base fabrication, purporting to be a letter written by a French officer, was inserted in the newspaper, in which he was represented as saying, that "the Moravians were their good friends, and would give them every assistance in their power against the English." A general suspicion was thus excited against them throughout the country, which went so far, that, in the Jerseys, proclamation was made, with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed; and the most dreadful threats were added, that, in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten, and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It was afterwards ascertained that a party of a hundred men, who came to Bethlehem, was sent for the express purpose of raising a mob; but the kind and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their design, overcame their ma-

lice and softened their rage. It was not, however, till after the burning of Gnadenhuetten, that the public feeling respecting the brethren underwent a complete revolution. Their adversaries were now convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against them, as they were the first sufferers from the French. Many exclaimed, even with tears, "How greatly have we sinned against an innocent people! What should we have had to answer for, had we accomplished our design of exterminating the brethren, and murdering their men, women, and children, on the vague supposition that they were our enemies!"

The reason thus given for the sufferings endured, should tend, with other considerations, to calm the mind. Jehovah is the same when his designs are impenetrable, as he is when they are fully explained. When clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are still the attendants of his throne. This truth it will be well to remember, and particularly through the subsequent part of this narrative; while the faith that trusts in God, where it cannot trace him, may be strengthened and animated by the assurance, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

A few of the Indian converts now fled to Wayomik, which they reached in safety; but the greater part flocked to Bethlehem, where they were lodged, clothed, and fed, with brotherly kindness. But this very circumstance rendered the situation of the brethren there peculiarly critical. The savages, on the one hand, insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal.

On the other hand, a set of fanatics arose, who demanded the total extirpation of all the Indians, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the Christians for not destroying them as the Israelites were commanded to do in the case of the Canaanites. These people were greatly incensed against Bethlehem, on account of the protection and assistance which were there granted to a race of beings, whom they considered accursed. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, looked upon themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and never knew, when going to bed at night, whether they would rise the next morning.

In this critical and alarming situation, they preserved unshaken confidence in God. Their courage in maintaining their station, proved a comfort and protection to their neighbours; for, if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. But, while they firmly relied on the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The settlement was surrounded by palisades, and guarded, both night and day, by Europeans and Indians. This precaution proved the means of preserving the settlement, while many adjacent villages were laid in ashes.

The firmness of the brethren, and their good political regulations, induced great numbers of their distressed neighbours to take refuge with them. Several hundred women and children came from a distance, and with tears begged for shelter. All were admitted as long as there was any room; and thus not only Bethlehem, but the four contiguous settlements of Nazareth, Christiansbrun, Friedensthal, and the Rose, were crowded with

fugitives. Though, in consequence of the war, their own resources were greatly exhausted, the brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to provide for their numerous guests. Thus wonderfully did the wisdom of God overrule passing events. The very people, who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, now became the protectors and defenders of those, who, through ignorance, had aspersed their character and meditated their destruction.

Under the wings of Bethlehem the Indian congregation now enjoyed a season of repose. Some additional temporary dwellings were erected for them; the schools commenced anew, and were diligently attended, and three missionaries were appointed for their immediate service. Portions of the scripture, the litany, and several hymns were translated, and the children often met together, and in the German, Mahikan, and Delaware languages, sang the praises of God their Saviour. Thus Bethlehem assumed the appearance of a missionary settlement. Amidst much external poverty and distress, the grace of God ruled in the hearts of its inhabitants; and both the Indian converts and the original European colonists "showed forth the praises of Him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

The residence of the Indians at Bethlehem, however, was attended with various difficulties; both the missionaries and the Indians themselves, therefore, wished to have a settlement of their own. Application being made to the governor, he readily acceded to this measure; and in June, 1757, a piece of land was assigned them, about a mile

from Bethlehem, on which they erected a town, and called it Nain. Most of the converts who had been scattered by the late troubles, now sought permission to live here, and then the new settlement rapidly increased. The visits of savages to this place and Bethlehem, issued in the conversion of many. Intelligence was now received that the Indians had commenced fresh hostilities near the Canadian lakes and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred settlers, and renewed their incursions into Pennsylvania. While contemplating a flight, the brethren were urged in the strongest manner to retire to the settlement at Nazareth, which, like Bethlehem, was a colony of European brethren and sisters. While preparing for their departure, they were suddenly alarmed by the report of several muskets. The Christian Indians, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go and defend them; but the missionary dissuaded them from this, exhorting them to stand by each other, and expect deliverance from God. "Very true," replied one of them, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." It was afterwards discovered that the firing proceeded from a party of soldiers. It was not, indeed, without extreme regret, that they left so pleasant a place, where they possessed excellent houses and large plantations: especially as they had to leave their harvest, and a great part of their cattle behind them.

Having joined their Christian countrymen of Wechquetank, who had previously removed to Nazareth, the whole company set out on their pilgrimage in the afternoon of the 8th of November, accompanied by the missionaries Grube, Schmick,

David Zeisberger, and John Rothe, with the wives of the two former, under the conduct of the sheriff, who cared for them like a father. It was a most affecting sight to behold these people, among whom were many aged, infirm, and sick, besides pregnant women and young children, proceeding patiently along the road, ignorant of their future fate. Though waggons were provided for the sick, the aged, and the children, yet they suffered much from fatigue and other hardships, and still more from the malice of some settlers, who loaded them with abuse and execrations.

Having, on the 11th of November, arrived at Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but, notwithstanding the positive order of government, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance. The poor Indians were kept standing in the street for five hours. A mob soon collected, who derided, reviled, and charged them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening to kill them on the spot, which they would no doubt have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. The zealous interference of the missionaries in behalf of their beloved converts, exposed them to the most imminent danger from the fury of the populace.

The magistrates, at length, interposed, ordering them to proceed six miles further to Province Island, in the river Delaware, where they were lodged in some large buildings. In passing through the city, thousands followed them with such tumultuous clamour, that they appeared like sheep among wolves. Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit, and regulated their daily meetings for worship, which proved

a great comfort to them. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some quakers, humanely interested themselves in their behalf, and they were kindly supplied by government with whatever they needed.

They had not been here long, when intelligence was received that Wechquetank had been burned by some of the settlers, and that some incendiaries had endeavoured to set fire to Bethlehem, and actually laid the oil-mill in ashes, the adjoining water-works having been with great difficulty saved from destruction. The brethren, therefore, were truly thankful, that the Christian Indians had found a safe retreat in Province Island ; and their gratitude was increased when they were informed of an act of horrid cruelty, committed by some white people, calling themselves Christians. Fifty-seven of these barbarians attacked a party of peaceable Indians in the village of Canestoga near Lancaster, and murdered fourteen of them in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates lodged, who protected them in the workhouse, a strong and well-secured building. But the white savages pursued them, marched into the town at noon-day, broke into the workhouse, and though the Indians on their knees begged their lives, they inhumanly murdered them all, and threw their mangled bodies into the streets. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

So general and inveterate was the rage of the white people, and such the state of anarchy and insubordination in the country, that, in defiance of

every proclamation from government, they boldly avowed their determination to massacre all the Christian Indians. This induced the government to send them, by way of New York, to the English army. Late in the evening of January 4, 1764, they received orders to this effect, and before midnight embarked in some boats, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, which city they reached almost unobserved early in the morning. The commissary, Mr. Fox, having kindly supplied them with blankets, and provided wagons for the aged, the sick, and the children, and for the heavy baggage, they set out, accompanied by the missionaries. The pressure of the immense crowd which had collected was so great, that they could hardly proceed ; the mob, in the most shocking manner, cursed and reviled them ; but, being escorted by a company of seventy Highlanders, no one ventured to lay hands on them. In every town through which they passed, they were insulted by the populace ; but God mercifully prevented serious mischief, and in about a week they safely reached Amboy, where two sloops lay ready to carry them to New York. They were just preparing to embark, when, very unexpectedly, strict orders arrived from the governor of New York, that no Indian should set foot on that territory ; and even the ferry-men were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from conveying them across the river.

They were now lodged in the barracks at Amboy, waiting for further orders. Here they held their daily meetings ; and, as great numbers of strangers attended, Divine service was performed in the open air. Their devotion and good beha-

viour excited general admiration, and many conceived a more favourable opinion of them. A soldier once said, "Would God that all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians!"

Orders having meanwhile arrived from Philadelphia for their return to that city, the Indians cheerfully obeyed, confident that the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, had directed their toilsome peregrinations for some gracious purposes. This journey was often rendered peculiarly dangerous in crossing the frozen rivers, the ice not being every where sufficiently firm. Their daily meetings, which they never suspended during their travels, were attended by many white people with astonishment and edification.

Having safely reached Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1764, they were for security lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard, day and night. As the fury and number of the mob still increased, the magistrates were obliged to adopt more serious measures. The guard was doubled, eight pieces of cannon were planted before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, some of whom were young quakers, took up arms, and repaired to the barracks in defence of the Indians. Twice the rebels prepared for an attack, but being fully informed of the measures of defence taken by government, abandoned their murderous design. Upon this, some gentlemen were deputed to inquire into their complaints. After much insolent behaviour, they asserted that there were several murderers among the Christian Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one

of the ringleaders was admitted into the barracks ; but after very strict examination of all the Indians, he did not find an individual chargeable with the smallest crime. Another allegation, that the quakers had secreted six of them, proving also unfounded, tranquillity was finally restored.

During their residence in the barracks, which lasted rather more than a year, they regularly held their meetings for religious worship, which, on Sundays, were frequented by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them ; yet the greatest silence and order were preserved, and in several instances the gospel was accompanied with saving power. At stated times they observed the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and some were admitted to baptism. The missionary Grube even commenced an English school, and the Indian youths took great delight in learning. Though the visits of strangers were occasionally inconvenient, yet they tended to convince many ill-disposed persons of the innocence of the Indians, and of their true conversion to God.

To the Indians, however, their present situation was a severe trial, and to some even more afflicting than all their past dangers. The food, to which they had not been accustomed, was no more conducive to their health, than the want of exercise and proper employment was congenial to their minds and habits. Their close confinement became insupportable and revolting to their notions of independence and liberty. This was especially the case with the young people ; some grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied, and even refractory ; and many suffered harm by their intercourse with the unconverted Indians, quartered

in the same barracks. This caused the missionaries much grief and perplexity, being, on the one hand, obliged to hear all the complaints of the dissatisfied, and, on the other, aware that government justly looked to them for the maintenance of good order and subordination. As summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such terror, that many meditated an escape from the barracks. But God so evidently blessed the endeavours of the missionaries, that their uneasiness was changed into resignation to the will of the Lord. No less than fifty-six persons departed this life, many of them not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory.

Among the Christian Indians lodged in the barracks, none suffered more than one named Renatus. He had been thrown into prison on a charge of murder; and, during his confinement of eight months, three of his nearest relatives were the prey of infectious disease. When informed of this, he burst into tears, and said, "This is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife, and my child, while I myself am confined in prison." The missionaries frequently visited him in his cell, where he spent his time in reading and prayer. On his trial, a verdict of "Not guilty" was returned, and he was immediately set at liberty. This decision was of great service to the brethren, as it frustrated the aim of their enemies to cast odium on the Indians, and general suspicion on the mission.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Cessation of hostilities—Settlement at Friedenstadt  
—Striking comparison—Increasing danger—  
Hasty flight—Treatment of prisoners—The Missionaries peace-makers—Painful circumstances  
—Providential escape of brother Zeisberger—  
Interesting converts.*

HOSTILITIES having, at length, terminated, and peace being restored, the directors of the mission lost no time in endeavouring to obtain an eligible place as a settlement for the Christian Indians, and for this purpose preferred the country on the banks of the Susquehannah.

On March 20th, 1765, they left the barracks in Philadelphia, and pursued their way amidst much danger and suffering. Some died in consequence of their various hardships. The rest having, after many toilsome wanderings, reached the Susquehannah, obtained a few boats, some sailing up the river, and others travelling along its banks, and arrived at Machwihilusing, after a journey of five weeks.

Having fixed on a convenient spot, they immediately began to erect a town, which, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses built of wood in the European manner, besides a dwelling for the missionaries. In the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood a large and neat chapel. The adjoining ground was laid out in gardens, and between the town and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular

plantations of Indian corn. The burying-ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings. Each family had its own boat. To this place they gave the name of Friedenshuetten, and the new settlement soon assumed a very flourishing appearance.

Friedenshuetten was not designed for a permanent settlement. The congregation here, and at a settlement afterwards formed at Friedenstadt, indeed, had lately received a kind invitation from the chief and council of a town on the river Muskingum, to reside in that part of the country, on whatever tract of land they chose. The missionary, Zeisberger, accordingly, undertook a journey thither, in order to fix on a suitable spot. Here he pitched upon a place about seventy miles south of Lake Erie. A new town was begun, called Shoenbrunn, or the beautiful Spring. Not long after, a great part of the Indian congregation removed from Friedenstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement, named Gnadenhuetten.

At the end of 1776, the Christian Indians amounted to four hundred and fourteen persons, who now resided in three different settlements, at no great distance from each other, and promoted one another's comfort and edification by the intercourse which subsisted between them. About this time, the Delaware Spelling-book and Grammar, compiled by David Zeisberger, and printed at Philadelphia, was introduced into the schools, and afforded great pleasure to the young people. Besides this work, the missionaries translated various passages of scripture, and a number of hymns, both into the Mohegan and Delaware languages, which were in constant use in the congregation.

But while the mission was, in this manner, extending its boundaries, its progress was suddenly checked by the war which had now commenced between Great Britain and the colonies. And as, in consequence, various evils arose, the brethren retired with their people, for a season, to the other two settlements.

The dangers to which the missionaries in particular were afterwards exposed, were so numerous and great, that it was judged expedient that most of them should leave the Indian country for the present, and retire to Bethlehem. Two only remained behind, Zeisberger at Lichtenau, and Edwards at Gnadenhuetten, places twenty miles distant from each other. They, however, paid visits to one another, participating most cordially in each other's joys and sorrows; and though they saw nothing before them but troubles, hardships, and dangers, they determined to remain with their beloved Indian congregation, even though it should be attended by the sacrifice of life. Both they and their people, indeed, were kept in continual alarm, by the rumours which were daily circulated through the country. One day, they heard that an American general had arrived at Pittsburg, who would give no quarter to the Indians, whether friends or foes, being resolved to root them all out of the country; and it was said, that several plans were formed for destroying Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. One rumour after another proclaimed the approach of the Americans; and as the Christian Indians were resolved to take no part in the war, there remained no alternative but to prepare for flight. A spot of ground on the banks of a neigh-

bouring river was accordingly pitched on as a place of rendezvous for the two congregations ; and every family packed up their goods to be ready to flee on the first emergency. One night, an express arrived at both the settlements, with an account of the approach of the enemy. The two congregations immediately fled, with their teachers, in canoes ; and, indeed, it was with such precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind. They met at the place appointed, and there encamped, expecting every hour to hear of a dreadful engagement in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau. Happily, however, before day-break, they received intelligence, that what had been taken for an American army, was nothing more than a great number of horses in the woods. Soon after, indeed, a troop of American freebooters set off, contrary to the express orders of the governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and of course the missionary settlements among the rest ; but being met by the Half-king of the Hurons and his warriors, they were entirely defeated, and the greater part of them slain.

The Hurons, who were in the interest of England, continued to carry on hostilities against the Americans ; and the most dismal accounts were received, from time to time, of the ravages and murders committed by them, and other Indians, in the plantations of the white settlers ; by whom, also, similar cruelties were practised on them. The missionaries and their people were often shocked to behold the savage warriors, on their return from their murderous expeditions, leading captive men, women, and children ; or, what was still more distressing, carrying their dead bodies

and scalps through the town. The Christian Indians showed great compassion to the unfortunate prisoners, supplied them with food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or abused in any form in the settlement, according to the Indian custom, whenever warriors pass through a town with captives. The savages were often greatly incensed at this compassionate prohibition, yet nevertheless they had to obey. Among the prisoners, there was an old man of a venerable appearance, together with two youths. The Christian Indians greatly commiserated his situation, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his ransom, but it was all in vain. When the savages arrived in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burned alive, according to the cruel manner in which the Indians usually treated their unfortunate prisoners. The old man was condemned to a similar fate; but, being informed of this by a child, he contrived to make his escape, and fled into the woods. The savages pursued him; but happily he eluded their search, and reached the neighbourhood of Lichtenau in safety. He was able, however, to proceed no further, as he was quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days. Here one of the Christian Indians found him, lying in the woods, more like a corpse than a living creature. Being brought, though with much difficulty, to the settlement, the poor man was there taken care of; and, after his recovery, conveyed in safety to Pittsburg.

During this period, indeed, many troops of warriors were prevailed on, by the friendly persuasions of the Christian Indians, to relinquish their

murderous designs, and return to their homes, by which means much bloodshed was happily prevented. By the influence of the missionaries and the congregation, the Delaware chiefs were confirmed in their resolution to take no part in the war, notwithstanding the threats, as well as entreaties, of the governor of Detroit; and by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian tribes were kept at peace, being unwilling to offend that powerful nation, which they called their grandfather. The government at Pittsburg acknowledged the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit to the whole country; and Colonel Morgan observed, with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors was, on the whole, greatly mitigated by the influence of their Christian countrymen.

At length, however, the Delaware Indians, seduced by the arts of the English, took up arms against the colonists. Now, they not only ceased to be the friends of the missionaries and the congregation, but, by degrees, they became their enemies, considering them as a check on their conduct, and a hinderance to the accomplishment of their designs. Many were the remarkable escapes of the missionaries from the dangers which menaced them. In the summer of 1778, they learned that the governor of Detroit intended to send a party of English and Indian warriors to carry them off; but afterwards they heard that the design was frustrated, by the sudden death of the captain appointed to command the expedition, whose place could not immediately be supplied. During the following summer, their danger was still more imminent; there seemed, indeed, no possibility of

their escaping. An army, consisting of English and Indian troops, marching from Detroit to Fort Lawrence, had already arrived at Tuskarawi, on this side of the Huron towns, and the commanding officer intended to come to the brethren's settlements, and carry the missionaries off prisoners. Suddenly, however, the news of an attack by the Americans, on the Indian country, induced all the Indian warriors to forsake him, so that he was under the necessity of returning without executing his purpose. A troop of robbers and murderers, of the Mingo tribe, headed by a white man, had expressed a hope that they should be fortunate enough to carry one, or all the missionaries, captive to Detroit. Brother Zeisberger had timely notice of this, but being so much accustomed to such threatenings, he did not regard it, and went about in his usual manner. One day, however, while on a journey, he was met by this very band of russians, and as soon as the white man saw him, he called to his companions : "Behold, here is the man you have long wished to see!" The captain of the Mingoes made no reply, but only shook his head ; and, after asking a few questions, they all walked off. Such was the gracious care of God over his servants ; it seemed as if he had given charge concerning them, saying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." The English, indeed, acknowledged that the missionaries had done no evil, and that they were even useful in civilizing the Indians ; but yet they wished to make them prisoners, being persuaded that were they removed, not only the Delawares, but many other tribes, would take up the hatchet, and join their troops.

In consequence of the confusion and anarchy which prevailed through the whole country, considerable changes had now taken place in the settlements of the brethren. Not only was Shoenbrunn deserted by the faithful part of the congregation, but it was afterwards judged necessary to leave Gnadenhuetten also, and to concentrate the whole mission in Lichtenau. As this place, however, was soon over-crowded with inhabitants, it was agreed that part of them should return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Shoenbrunn should be rebuilt, though not on the same spot as before, but on the opposite side of the river. Lichtenau, which had hitherto been the safest place of residence for the Christian Indians, became so exposed to the outrages of the savages, that it was necessary, in 1780, to leave it also, and to build a new settlement, which they called Salem, about five miles below Gnadenhuetten.

In the midst of these trials, the state of the congregation was of the most pleasing nature. The progress of vital religion among them was so apparent, that the missionaries forgot all their sorrows in the joy which this afforded them.

A missionary proposed the question to an Indian brother previous to the Lord's supper, "Tell me, how is your heart disposed at present?" He replied, "You could not have asked me a more agreeable question: I am ready to answer it every day; and if you were even to wake me at night, I should want no more to consider, for our Saviour has given me such a heart, that I am as willing to lay my wants and deficiencies open before my brethren, as to describe the happiness I enjoy."

Another of the newly-baptized said to his mo-

ther and friends : " You are perhaps of opinion, that there is nothing real in the great gospel of Christ and his atonement, and that we only talk of it. I also thought so formerly, and made it a laughing-stock. But now I can inform you, by experience, that it is great and marvellous, and that the power of God seizes and melts my heart, when I hear what our Saviour has done and suffered for us, and how much it cost him to deliver us lost and undone human creatures from the power of Satan."

## CHAPTER IX.

*Pecuniary losses of the Missionaries—Dangerous journey—Arrival at Upper Sandusky—Appearance at Detroit—The accuser embarrassed—The brethren declared innocent—Great privations—Barbarous plot—Dreadful attack—Death threatened—Massacre of the Indians—Remarkable escape—Severe trials at Sandusky—Removal to Detroit—Settlement at Pilgerruh—Retreat to New Salem and Canada—Mission renewed on the Muskingum—Sketch of brother Zeisberger—Effect of example—Settlement at Fairfield—Treatment by the Americans—Missionary devotedness—Settlement on Lake Ontario.*

AT length the savages compelled the brethren to retire, and never did they forsake any country with so much regret, as when they were now obliged to leave three beautiful settlements on the Muskingum, and the greater part of their property. They had already lost upwards of two hundred black cattle, and four hundred hogs; but, besides this, they had to abandon great quantities of Indian corn in their stores, upwards of three hundred acres of land, where the crop was just ripening, together with potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables in the ground. According to a moderate calculation, their loss was not less than twelve thousand dollars, a large sum certainly to belong chiefly to Indians, and a striking proof of the improvements which the missionaries had effected.

But what gave them most concern, was the total loss of the books and manuscripts which they had compiled, with immense care and labour, for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burned by the savages. Besides, they had nothing before them but the prospect of trials and disappointments, of hardships, difficulties, and dangers; but they were enabled to possess their souls in patience, and to commit their way to God, when going whither they would not.

They were escorted by a troop of savages, who were commanded by an English officer, and who enclosed them on all hands, at the distance of some miles. They went partly by land, and partly by water. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions, and whatever else they contained. Those who went by land, drove the cattle before them, having collected a considerable herd of these animals from two of their settlements. The brethren and their wives usually travelled in the midst of their beloved people. One morning, however, when the Christian Indians could not set off so expeditiously as their conductors thought proper, the savages attacked the missionaries, and forced them away alone, whipped their horses forward till the animals became quite unmanageable, and would not even allow the women to suckle their infant children. The road, too, was extremely bad, being through one continued swamp. Mrs. Zeisberger fell twice from her horse; and, in one case, was dragged for some time hanging in the stirrup; but, through the kindness of Providence, she was mercifully preserved. Some of the Christian Indians followed them as fast they could; but with

all their exertions, they did not overtake them till night ; and hence the missionaries and their families were not delivered out of the hands of the merciless savages till next morning. But, though the journey was extremely irksome, they all travelled along with the utmost resignation and patience. Not one left the congregation, nor laid the blame of their troubles and losses upon others. No dissatisfaction nor disunion arose. They adhered to each other as brethren and friends, rejoicing in God their Saviour, and even held their daily meetings upon the road.

Having arrived at Sandusky Creek, after a journey of upwards of four weeks, the Half-king of the Hurons and his warriors left them, and marched into their own country, without giving them any particular orders how to proceed. Thus, they were abandoned in a wilderness where there was neither game nor provisions of any kind ;—such was the place to which the barbarians had led them, notwithstanding they had represented it as a perfect paradise. After wandering to and fro for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky ; and having pitched on the most convenient spot they could find in this dreary region, they erected small huts of logs and bark to shelter themselves from the rain and cold. They were now, however, so poor, that they had neither beds nor blankets ; for, on the journey, the savages had stolen every thing from them, except only their utensils for manufacturing maple sugar. But nothing distressed them so much as the want of provisions. Some had long spent their all, and now depended on the charity of their neighbours for a morsel to eat. Even the

missionaries, who hitherto had uniformly gained a livelihood by the labour of their hands, were now reduced to the necessity of receiving support from the congregation. As their wants were so urgent, Shebosh the missionary, and several of the Christian Indians, returned as soon as possible to their settlements on the Muskingum, in order to fetch the Indian corn which they had left growing in the fields.

Scarcely had the congregation begun to settle in Sandusky, when the missionaries were ordered to go and appear before the governor of Fort Detroit. Four of them, accompanied by several of the Indian assistants, accordingly set off without delay, while the other two remained with their little flock. On taking their departure, they experienced the most agonizing sensations, partly, as they knew not what might be the issue of the journey, and partly, as they were obliged to leave their families in want of the common necessities of life. As they travelled chiefly by land along the banks of Lake Erie, they had to pass through numerous swamps, over large inundated plains, and through thick forests. But the most painful circumstance was, their hearing that some of the Indians, who had gone to the Muskingum to fetch corn, had been murdered by the white people, and that a large body of these miscreants were marching to Sandusky to surprise the new settlement. This report, indeed, was not correct. Shebosh the missionary, and five of the Christian Indians, were, it is true, taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn, and carried to Pittsburg. The others returned safe to Sandusky, with about four hundred bushels of Indian corn, which they had

gathered in the fields. But as the travellers did not hear a correct statement of these circumstances until afterwards, they suffered meanwhile the greatest anxiety and distress.

Having arrived at Detroit, they appeared before the governor, in order to answer the accusations brought against them, of holding a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English interest. The investigation, however, was deferred till captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive; a circumstance which could not but give them much uneasiness, as he had hitherto shown himself their bitter and determined enemy. They had no friend on earth to interpose in their behalf; but they had a Friend in heaven in whom they put their trust. Nor was their confidence in him in vain. On the day of trial, Captain Pipe, after some ceremonies had passed between him and Colonel De Peyster, respecting the scalps and prisoners which he had brought from the United States, rose and addressed the governor as follows: "Father, you commanded us to bring the believing Indians, and their teachers from the Muskingum. This has been done. When we had brought them to Sandusky, you ordered us to bring their teachers and some of their chiefs unto you. Here you see them before you. Now, you may speak with them yourself as you have desired. But I hope you will speak good words unto them: yea, I tell you, speak good words unto them, for they are my friends, and I should be sorry to see them ill used." These last words he repeated two or three times. In reply to this speech, the governor enumerated the various complaints he had made against the brethren, and called upon him to prove, that they

had actually corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the English. To this the chief replied, that such a thing might have happened; but they would do it no more, for they were now at Detroit. The governor, justly dissatisfied with this answer, peremptorily demanded that he should give a direct reply to his question. Pipe was now greatly embarrassed; and, bending to his counsellors, asked them what he should say. But they all hung their heads in silence. On a sudden, however, he rose, and thus addressed the governor: "I said before that such a thing might have happened; now I will tell you the truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves; what they did, they were compelled to do." Then smiting his breast, he added: "I am to blame, and the chiefs who were with me. We forced them to do it when they refused;" alluding to the correspondence between the Delaware chiefs and the Americans, of which the missionaries were the innocent medium. Thus the brethren found an advocate and a friend in their accuser and enemy.

After making some further inquiries, the governor declared before the whole camp, that the brethren were innocent of all the charges alleged against them; that he felt great satisfaction in their endeavours to civilize and christianize the Indians; and that he would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He offered them the use of his own house in the most friendly manner; and as they had been plundered, contrary to his express command, he ordered them to be supplied with clothes, and various other articles, of which they stood in need. He even

bought them four watches, which the savages had taken from them, and sold to a trader. After experiencing various other acts of kindness from him, they returned to Sandusky, and were received with inexpressible joy, by their families and the whole congregation, who had been under strong apprehensions that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit.

The congregation at Sandusky were still in extreme want of provisions; and at length famine, in all its horrors, appeared among them. Often they knew not one day what they should eat on the morrow. At Christmas, they could not, as usual, observe the Lord's supper, as they had neither bread nor wine. The cattle, of which they had considerable herds, had no forage, so that such of them as were not killed for food perished of hunger. Provisions were not to be had even for money; or if any were bought in other places, it was at a most exorbitant price. Many of the poor lived on wild potatoes; and, at last, their want was so extreme, that they greedily devoured the carcasses of the horses and cattle which were starved to death. In this wretched situation they had a visit from the Half-king of the Hurons, with a number of his warriors and some white people. As they were not able to furnish their guests with a meal, one of the assistants went to the chief, and informed him that no meat was to be had, except the flesh of dead cattle, representing, at the same time, the contrast between their present adverse circumstances, and their former prosperous situation, when they afforded him and his followers an abundant supply of whatever they needed. The king appeared to be struck with the reproof, and went

away in silence. But many of the Indians, with all the barbarity natural to savages, when they came to Sandusky, and beheld numbers of cattle dead on the ground, laughed at the melancholy spectacle, reviled their Christian countrymen, and expressed the utmost joy at their sufferings : "Now," said they, "you are become like us, and certainly you deserve not to fare better."

Impelled by the severity of the famine, several parties of the Christian Indians went from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, as it was reported there was now no danger in that quarter of the country. In this, however, they were awfully mistaken. That quarter now became the scene of what has, perhaps, scarcely a parallel in the annals of treachery and murder. The governor of Pittsburg, having released the Christian Indians, who, together with Shebosh, the missionary, had been taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn ; this act of common justice and humanity greatly incensed some of those miscreants, who represented the Indians as a kind of Canaanites, whom it was a duty utterly to exterminate. Having heard that many of the Christian Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the Muskingum for provisions, a band of these ruffians, about one hundred and sixty in number, determined to murder them by surprise, to destroy their settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, and cut off the rest of the congregation. Colonel Gibson, at Pittsburg, having heard of this barbarous plot, sent messengers to the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, to apprise them of their danger, but it was too late when they arrived. The Indians, however, received information of the

approach of the white people, from a different quarter, in time enough to have saved themselves by flight; but though, on other occasions, they used to manifest the utmost caution and timidity, yet, at this time, they showed no signs of fear, apprehending that they had nothing to dread from the Americans, but only from the savages.

Early in March, 1782, the conspirators arrived at Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the settlement, they met the son of Shebosh, the missionary, in the woods, and having fired at him, wounded him in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to escape. In vain did he implore his life; in vain did he represent that he was the son of a white Christian man. They were deaf to all his entreaties, and cruelly cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then came to the Indians, most of whom were gathering the corn in their plantations, accosted them in a friendly manner, and told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them, on account of the injuries they had suffered from the English and the savages, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor simple Indians believed every word, returned with them to the town, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. Having informed their visitors, that a small barrel of wine, which was found among their goods, was designed for the Lord's supper, and that they were to carry it with them to Sandusky, the ruffians told them that they should not return thither, but go with them to Pittsburg, where they would be in no danger either from the English or the savages. This proposal the Indians heard with resignation,

hoping that God might, by this means, put a period to their present sufferings, which were so numerous and severe. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered up their guns, their hatchets, and their other weapons, to the conspirators, who promised to take care of them; and, on their arrival at Pittsburg, to return every article to its rightful owner. The unsuspecting creatures even showed them all those articles which they had secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and thus emptied all their stores for this band of miscreants.

Meanwhile, John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to Salem, with the news of the arrival of the white people, to his Christian countrymen in that town, and assured them they need not be afraid to go with them, for that they were come to conduct them to a place of safety. The Indians at Salem did not hesitate to accept of the proposal, believing unanimously that God had sent the Americans to release them from their present disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that when they arrived at Pittsburg, they might soon find a place to build a settlement, and easily procure assistance from Bethlehem. John Martin accordingly returned to Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by two of them, to acquaint both their brethren and the white people with their resolution. The ruffians having expressed a desire to see Salem, a party of them were conducted thither, and received with the utmost hospitality. Here they professed the same attachment to the Indians as at Gnadenhuetten, and easily persuaded them to accompany them to that place. With the hypocrisy of consummate villains, they feigned

great piety by the way, entered into much spiritual conversation with the converts, some of whom spoke English well, and gave very scriptural and suitable answers to many questions which these miscreants proposed to them on religious subjects.

Having by such base and fiendish arts completely deceived the unsuspecting Indians, they at length threw off the mask, and displayed their character in its true colours. In the meanwhile, they had attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, and bound them without resistance. The Indians from Salem now shared a similar fate. Before they entered the town, they were suddenly surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns, and even of their pocket-knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The conspirators now met in council, and resolved, by a majority of votes, to murder them all the following day. Such as opposed this barbarous resolution wrung their hands, and called God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority were inflexible, and only differed concerning the mode of the execution. Some were for burning them, and others for scalping them in cold blood. Either mode was shocking to humanity; but the latter was, at length, fixed upon; and one of the council was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves for death in a Christian manner, for that they must all die on the morrow.

This message, so dreadful and unexpected, at first struck the Indians, as might naturally be supposed, with extreme horror. But they soon recollected themselves, and patiently suffered their

enemies to lead them into two houses, in one of which the men, and in the other the women and children, were confined like sheep for the slaughter. Their last night on earth they spent in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto death; and, as the morning approached, they employed themselves in singing the praises of God their Saviour, in the joyful hope of soon joining the choir of the redeemed in heaven.

When it arrived, the murderers fixed on two buildings, one for the men, the other for the women and children, to which they wantonly gave the name of slaughter-houses. Some of them even came to the prisoners, manifesting great impatience that the execution was not yet begun. No time, however, was now lost. The carnage immediately commenced, and presented so shocking a scene, that humanity shudders at the recital. The innocent men, women, and children, were bound with ropes, two and two together. They were then led into the slaughter-houses appointed for them. There they were scalped and murdered in cold blood, by these demons in human form. In this horrid manner, perished no fewer than ninety-six persons, among whom were five of the most valuable assistants, and thirty-four children! According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with wonderful patience, and met death with cheerful resignation. The miscreants even acknowledged that they were good Indians; "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their latest breath."

Of the whole number of Indians at Gnaden-huetten and Salem, only two youths escaped; and, indeed, their escape was little less than mira-

culous. One of them disengaged himself from his bonds; then slipping unobserved from the crowd, he crept through a narrow window into the cellar of the house where the women and children were slaughtered. He had not been long there, when their blood penetrated through the floor; and, according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar, a circumstance which renders it probable, that they were not only scalped, but killed with hatchets or swords. Here he lurked till night, no one coming down to search the cellar; and then, though with much difficulty, he climbed up the wall to the window, and fled into a neighbouring thicket. The escape of the other youth was still more singular. The murderers gave him only one blow on the head, cut off his scalp, and then left him. After some time, he recovered his senses, and beheld himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. In the midst of these, he observed one of the converts, named Abel, moving, and attempting to raise himself up. But he lay perfectly still, as though he had been dead, a caution which proved the means of his deliverance; for, shortly after, one of the murderers came in, and perceiving Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. The youth lay quiet till dark, though suffering the most exquisite torture from his wounds. He then ventured to creep to the door, and observing no one in the neighbourhood, escaped into the wood, where he lay concealed during the night. Here the two lads met with each other; and before they left their retreat, they saw the murderers, with a ferocious insensibility, making merry, after the accomplishment of their diabolical enter-

prize ; and at last set fire to the two slaughter-houses, filled with the corpses of their innocent victims.

While the Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten and Salem were in this manner inhumanly butchered, those at Schoenbrunn providentially escaped. Having had occasion to send a message to Gnadenhuetten, the bearer of it, before he reached that place, found young Shebosh lying dead on the ground ; and looking forward, he saw a number of white people about the town. Alarmed by this discovery, he fled back to Schoenbrunn with great precipitation, and told the Indians what he had seen. Upon this, they all took flight, and ran into the woods, so that when the monsters arrived at the town, they found nobody in it ; and though the Indians lay concealed in the neighbourhood, yet happily they escaped undiscovered. Having, therefore, set fire to the three settlements, the ruffians marched off with the scalps of their innocent murdered victims, about fifty horses, and such other property as they chose to carry with them.

Meanwhile, the missionaries at Sandusky were not without their trials. In the congregation itself, there arose some false brethren, who, having relapsed into the paths of sin, endeavoured to introduce their heathenish practices among their Christian countrymen. They would not even leave the settlement, but stopped in defiance of all remonstrances, were enraged when kindly reproved, and went among the neighbouring pagans, trying to exasperate them against the missionaries. Besides, though the governor of Detroit had promised that the brethren should not be molested

in their labours, yet this was an engagement he was not able to fulfil. Soon after their return to Sandusky, some of the principal Delaware chiefs expressed their surprise that he should have permitted them to depart, and thus have disappointed their hopes of getting rid of persons whom they deemed so troublesome. Hitherto, however, the governor had found means to pacify them by the wisdom and firmness of his conduct. But now the Half-king of the Hurons again took part against them. Two of his sons, who had lately gone on a murdering expedition, having both been killed, he foolishly ascribed their death to the intrigues of the brethren, and determined to be revenged upon them. Besides, with the dread natural to a guilty conscience, he lived in perpetual apprehension that the Christian Indians, if they were suffered to remain in a body, might revenge on him the many injuries which they and their teachers had lately suffered. From various considerations, therefore, the governor gave the Half-king of the Hurons, and an English officer in his company, an order to bring all the missionaries and their families to Fort Detroit, but adding a strict charge that they should neither plunder nor abuse them.

This order was productive of the greatest distress; but, as it was vain to resist, they took leave of their Indian congregation, overwhelmed with grief. At Lower Sandusky, they were visited by the English officer appointed to conduct them to Detroit; but, instead of treating them with civility, he behaved like a madman, and, with horrid oaths, repeatedly threatened to fracture their skulls with a hatchet. At length, however,

the vessels arrived, with a written order that they should be treated with all possible kindness.

On reaching Detroit, the governor stated his conviction of their innocence, and that he had sent for them merely to provide for their safety ; and further, he left them, to remain at Detroit or go to Bethlehem as they pleased. Indeed, their removal to this place was the means of saving, not only themselves, but the congregation, from a band of wretches who thirsted for their blood ; and who, soon after this disappointment, were attacked by a body of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them cut in pieces.

Anxious to collect the remains of their wandering flock, the missionaries, with the assistance of the governor, obtained a grant of land from the Chippeways, on the banks of the river Huron, where they commenced a new settlement, which they called Gnadenhuetten. The missionaries then sent messages to their converts to come and join them ; but these were often basely perverted, while some of the chiefs commanded the Indians to be resigned to their fate, and to resume their former mode of life, adding, “ For now, not a word of the gospel shall any more be heard in the Indian country.” Many rose superior to the temptation ; others, through fear, continued to reside among the savages, and some even relapsed into paganism.

By the industry of the Christian Indians, this new Gnadenhuetten, in a short time, became a very neat and regular town ; but a severe frost occasioned great distress, and the Chippeways now expressed their dissatisfaction that their chief hunting-ground should be thus occupied, and even threatened to murder some of them, in order to

compel the rest to leave the place. It appeared, indeed, that their demands and complaints would be endless. And therefore, after much anxiety and suffering by land and by water, the brethren found another spot for a settlement, which they called Pilgerruh, or "Pilgrim's Rest."

Some supplies happily arrived from the brethren at Bethlehem, and from the congress of the United States, but the congregation was not without its difficulties and trials. Pilgerruh had soon to be changed for New Salem; and in April, 1791, the whole congregation, consisting of about two hundred persons, settled in a place about eighteen miles from Detroit, under the protection of the British government. In the following year they proceeded from thence to Upper Canada, where they built a new town, which they called Fairfield. That a favourable impression was produced on some of the white people, is evident from the fact, that, with the exception of traders, they commonly avoided settling near an Indian town, but now they were eager to establish themselves in this quarter; and, in the course of a few years, the settlement contained upwards of a hundred families. In this place the congregation was very little increased by additions from among the heathen. Indeed, during the first six years which elapsed from the time they left New Salem, only twelve adults and forty children were baptized.

Peace having been restored between the Indians and the United States, a resolution was formed to renew the mission on the Muskingum, where congress had formally granted to the brethren's society (in America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, the land, on which Gnaden-

huetten, Schoenbrunn, and Salem, formerly stood, with four thousand acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. With this view, the brethren, J. Heckewelder and William Henry, in the summer of 1797, went to take a survey of it. They found the whole district overgrown with an impervious thicket of briars and brushwood of various kinds, the haunt of serpents, bears, deer, turkeys, and other animals. Some ruins of the houses were still standing; and the place where the Indians were massacred was plainly marked, many of their bones lying concealed under the ashes.

In August, the following year, several Indian families from Fairfield, consisting of thirty-three persons, commenced the renewal of the mission there. The venerable David Zeisberger, with truly apostolical zeal, though then seventy-seven years old, volunteered his services for this difficult and arduous undertaking, being accompanied by his wife, likewise aged and infirm, and the missionary Benjamin Mortimer. The journey, as usual in this country, was tedious, occupying nearly two months, and was attended with many dangers and difficulties, both by land and water. When they came to the carrying-place in the river Cayahaga, they were obliged to drag the loaded canoes for seven miles over solid rocks; but by great exertions they reached the place of their destination in October, in good health and perfect safety. The Indians, indeed, combated every hardship with wonderful composure and steady perseverance. They never murmured, and not an individual among them ever appeared to lament having undertaken the journey, or to flinch from the duties

he had thereby imposed on himself. It is justly remarked by the missionaries, that "men of their stamp and character, if properly prepared for the work by the Spirit of God, would be the fittest of all others to make known the gospel to their wild countrymen, living at a distance." It was strongly impressed on their own minds, that they had undertaken the journey for that very purpose, and most of them expressed an ardent desire to be useful to their heathen countrymen, by leading them to a knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. They entered into an agreement among themselves, to renew the ancient hospitality, and treat all visitors in the most friendly manner.

Thus, after the lapse of more than seventeen years since the Christian Indians were forcibly expelled from this part of the country, a few of the survivors, in reliance on the help of God, ventured to re-occupy this station. They erected their first settlement near the former site of Schoenbrunn, and called it Goshen. A few heathen families in the sequel moved thither, and embraced the gospel. At the beginning of the year 1801, the number of inhabitants amounted to seventy-one persons. The love and Christian simplicity prevailing among them, were noticed by all visitors with great pleasure and edification. Their number, however, was considerably diminished the following year, as several families removed to the river Wabash, to commence a mission among the Cherokees.

In the record of this mission, the venerable David Zeisberger demands particular notice. He was the son of one those Moravian emigrants who laid the foundation of the renewed brethren's church, and spent above sixty years as a missionary

to the Indians, encountering innumerable dangers, hardships, and privations. He acquired an extensive knowledge of the Delaware, and several other Indian tongues. But most of his translations, and other books of instruction, being only in manuscript, were burned on the Muskingum ; and the unsettled state of the mission for a long time after, his multifarious avocations, and his advancing age, allowed him neither sufficient leisure nor strength completely to repair the loss. The persecutions to which he was exposed, instead of dismaying him, served rather to increase his zeal in his Master's cause ; and, in more than one instance, he had the pleasure of baptizing Indians, who not long before had raised the hatchet to murder him. Over his Indian flock he watched with the solicitude of a parent, and cherished them as a nurse doth her children. He followed them in all their wanderings, cheerfully sharing with them the burden and heat of the day ; and during the last forty years of his life, he was never, at one time, six months absent from his charge. The younger missionaries revered him as a father ; and before they entered on their work, generally spent some time with him, that they might profit by his instructions and counsels. Within a few months of his death he became nearly blind, yet, being perfectly resigned to the will of God, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness, and though his body was almost worn to a skeleton, his judgment remained unimpaired.

Anticipating his departure, he considered every circumstance relating to it with the greatest serenity, and declared himself perfectly satisfied and comforted as to all things, except the spiritual

state of the Indian congregation. On this being communicated to them, they all came one by one, entreated his forgiveness for whatever had grieved him, and, with many tears, promised that they would surrender their hearts to the Saviour, and devote themselves wholly to Him. He received them with that solemnity and affection which he had always blended in converse with them, assured them of his cordial interest in their welfare, cautioned them against the besetting sin of intemperance, and exhorted them to love and follow Mr. Mortimer, their remaining teacher.

Addressing him, he thus expressed himself: "Perceiving that I am daily growing weaker, I believe it is the will of my Saviour, by occasion of this illness, to take me home to himself. I have reviewed my whole course of life before him, and found much cause to crave his forgiveness. My dependence is on his blood, which cleanseth me from all sin and unrighteousness. I know that I am his, and that he is mine with all his merits. Many of my brethren have departed this life triumphantly: that is not my case; I depart as a poor sinner, saved by grace alone. Our Saviour will take my spirit to himself in peace, and this sinful body I shall leave behind."

As death approached, he took a tender leave of his wife and family, and of his fellow-labourer, and desired that the blessing of Moses might be pronounced over him: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!" When at times his sufferings were more intense, nothing soothed him so much as singing of

hymns treating of the happiness of true believers ; especially such verses as he had made, to be sung at the death-beds of the Christian Indians. Some of his Indian flock, therefore, frequently sang both during their visits in the day-time, and when they watched with him during the night. He passed much time in supplication. Sometimes he exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, hear my prayer ; come, and take my spirit to thyself." Once, when in great pain, he prayed with much fervency : "Thou, Lord, hast never forsaken me in distress, and now thou wilt not forsake me." Soon after this, as if he had received a gracious answer, he said, "The Lord is near ; perhaps he will soon come and take me home." But though he desired to depart and be with Christ, which is far better, he was always completely resigned to the Divine will.

On a visit from some of the brethren in the neighbourhood, he was unable to speak, but expressed his pleasure by smiles. Shortly after they left him, a change took place, and the Indians assembled around his bed. They sang several verses, for which he expressed his gratitude by signs. At length, he ceased to breathe ; and of him it might be said, as it was of Stephen, the first martyr, he "fell asleep." His age was eighty-seven years, seven months, and six days. The whole company knelt down, while Mr. Mortimer offered thanks to God for the happy transition of this venerable and devoted man to the house not made with hands, for the conversion of so many heathens by his instrumentality, and for all the good he had been the means of conferring ; and then humbly and fervently entreated the Divine blessing on this bereaving providence, and that

he and those who bowed with him at the footstool of mercy might be found faithful unto death.

Such men as David Zeisberger ought, indeed, to be held in everlasting remembrance. His faith and devotedness were of no ordinary character. In circumstances the most perilous and appalling, he laboured through a very long period with unremitting energy ; and counted not his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. The Christian, the minister, and especially the missionary, will do well frequently to muse on his example. He was one of those who have lived not merely for their own, but for after ages. Could these devoted men have foreseen the mighty influence exerted by their example in moulding, consoling, and stimulating others, they would still more contentedly and gladly have encountered toil, and endured sorrow.

After the emigration of several families from Fairfield, in 1798, for the purpose of commencing the mission at Goshen, the former settlement, though considerably diminished in point of numbers, continued in a flourishing state, both as to its temporal prosperity, and the progressive advance of the major part of its inhabitants in those habits which adorn the character of the true Christian. Perplexities and trials of various kinds were, indeed, still suffered ; but their greatest trouble arose from the white people in their vicinity, who, by the introduction of the rum-trade, occasioned many evils in the country, and filled the missionaries with anxious apprehensions for the morals of their young people.

But whenever their faith and hope were ready to droop, the Lord rekindled their zeal in his service, by giving them fresh proofs of the power of his grace to conquer the most corrupt passions of the human mind. Although few of the neighbouring heathen were savingly affected by the gospel, many of the children born and baptized in the settlement, as they were matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the Holy Spirit; and, now and then, some, who had strayed from the congregation and relapsed into sin, returned, and, with true compunction of heart, sought the forgiveness of the Lord and his people. Thus, in the year 1812, twenty-two persons of this description were added to the church; and, at the close of that year, the whole number amounted to one hundred and twenty-six persons.

Fairfield, after enjoying tranquillity for more than twenty years, was on a sudden involved in all the troubles of war, in consequence of the contest between England and the United States. On the 2d of October, 1813, seventy sick English soldiers arrived at the settlement, and were accommodated in the school and the chapel. The dwellings, both of the missionaries and Indians, had for some time been occupied by fugitives, whose number was daily increasing. The following day, however, the surgeon ordered the chapel to be cleared, that the usual Sunday's service might be performed.

On the 4th, the British general, Proctor, informed the missionaries, that he was willing to purchase their houses, Indian corn, garden-fruits, furniture, and anything else they could

spare, for the use of the army ; and promised that another tract of land should be given to the Christian Indians for a temporary residence during the war, and that they should be provided from the king's store with provision and clothing. The Indians, being convinced that it would be dangerous to delay their departure any longer, left the settlement.

On the same day an engagement took place between the American army and an English detachment, about a mile and half from Fairfield, in which the latter were overpowered. General Proctor escaped with fifteen soldiers, the other regulars were either killed or taken prisoners, and the Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods. In the evening a great number of Americans entered the settlement, chiefly on horseback. At first they pretended to be friendly, and promised to do no harm to the missionaries, nor take any of their private effects, and likewise expressed their regret that the Christian Indians had left the place, as they intended them no injury.\*

The same night, however, they began to treat the missionaries with great severity, accused them of secreting king's stores and English officers, and, with fierce importunity, demanded that they should be delivered up. The assurances given, that the accusation was not founded in truth, were of no avail. Every room and corner were searched, and particularly the roofs of the chapel and school. John Dolson, who, with his family, had fled hither, and two other men, were made pri-

\* The fears of the Christian Indians were, however, well-founded, and the remembrance of the events of 1782 justified their flight.

soners, but were liberated on the following day. The Americans told brother Schnall, that he, being a missionary, was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, but that he must not be offended because his house was guarded during the night. They were now ordered to open all their trunks and boxes for examination, and no person was permitted to go out of the house without a guard. The family could take no rest, but spent the night in silent prayer to the Lord, commanding themselves, and the white people who had sought refuge with them, to his almighty protection.

Very early the next morning the Americans began to plunder the settlement, and seized on all kinds of provisions. The missionaries were obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread; fifty bushels of potatoes, twelve of apples, all kinds of vegetables, and six hundred pounds of flour, which they had just purchased for the winter's consumption, were taken from them, and ten bee-hives emptied of all the honey, without however destroying the bees.

The American general, Harrison, and several officers, arrived during the plundering. Brother Schnall immediately waited upon him, and recommended the settlement to his protection, requesting also that some compensation might be made for what had been taken. His request was refused; but he was told that the missionaries were at liberty to quit the place. Commodore Perry, who was one of the party, meeting brother Schnall in the street, behaved with kindness, and said he knew the society, and respected the missions of the brethren, and promised to procure a passport, that the missionaries might

depart without being molested ; which he likewise effected. After this interview he came several times to their house, by which their anxiety was in some measure relieved. Some of the officers and privates also expressed pity for the hard treatment they had experienced. Some even used force to keep off the wild and lawless soldiery, who loaded the missionaries with the most bitter curses and mockeries. By this interposition they gained time to pack up their property. Commodore Perry now informed them, that he should soon leave the settlement, and advised them to make haste and get away, for if they staid after his departure, he would not answer for their being able to proceed. General Harrison likewise ordered them to hasten their flight. But, when in the act of loading their waggon, they were once more obliged to submit their baggage to a thorough search. Not the smallest article, however, was found, which could tend to impeach their character. They were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. They had no sooner quitted the place than part of it was set on fire, and on the following day the rest of the buildings were wholly consumed ; not even the smallest out-house was spared.

On the 15th the missionaries arrived at Detroit, where the commandant, General Cass, furnished them with a passport to go to Bethlehem. In prosecuting their journey they experienced various and great hardships, but also many signal proofs of the protection of the Lord.

When the news of the approach of an American detachment, and the defeat of the English, first reached Fairfield, the brethren there resolved that the missionary Schnall and his wife, together

with Michael Young, who was aged and infirm, should go to Bethlehem ; and that brother Dencke and his wife should remain with the Indians, and share in their fate, whatever it might be. They cheerfully acceded to the proposal, determined even to devote their lives to this service.

The Indians, on leaving the settlement, had encamped about six miles higher up the river ; but, being alarmed by reports brought by other fugitives, they had all fled into the woods ; so that when the missionary arrived at the camp, he found it deserted, and for some time both he and the Indians remained ignorant of each other's situation. In this uncertainty, not knowing which way to direct their steps, they providentially met with a man, who offered to take them in his waggon to Delaware town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they had the mortification to be attacked by a gang of Kikkapoo and Shawanoise robbers, who plundered them of the few articles of clothing which they had taken with them in their flight from Fairfield, and of the greater part of their other goods, together with their books and manuscripts, not leaving them even a Bible or a Testament.

But they soon forgot the sorrow occasioned by these disasters, when they reached Delaware town, on the 12th of October. They had scarcely arrived before a number of the Fairfield Indians came running to meet them, and with tears in their eyes offered thanks to God for having thus brought them together again. Messengers were quickly dispatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent ; for in their sudden flight, parents were separated from children, and

children from parents. They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below Fairfield.

Having, at length, arrived near Lake Ontario, the Indians built huts for themselves in the woods, a house for the missionary, and a chapel, which latter was opened for divine worship at Christmas, 1813. At the close of that year the congregation consisted of one hundred and sixty members, besides twenty-three persons not yet baptized, but who had come to winter with them, and regularly attended Divine service. This situation being deemed rather unsafe, on account of its proximity to the lake, and the superiority of the American fleet, they removed the following spring farther towards the mountains, about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their heaviest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with the congregations in America, and even several letters and parcels, sent from England, did not arrive. They were the more thankful, therefore, to the loyal and patriotic society at York, (on Lake Ontario,) who, without being solicited, remitted a hundred dollars to the missionary, with an intimation that, should it be needed, it would give them pleasure to render him further help, till he could command his own resources.

After the end of the war, they returned to Fairfield, and for some time dwelt in huts on the site of the former buildings, till they had erected a new settlement, rather higher up on the opposite bank of the river, at a little distance from it. This place they began to inhabit towards the end of the summer of 1815, calling it New Fairfield; the number of inhabitants then amounted to one

hundred and nine. Here they enjoyed rest and peace : the missionaries, whose number had been increased by the arrival of J. R. Schmidt from Bethlehem, prosecuted their calling with alacrity, and not without encouraging proofs that the Lord blessed their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. A very striking instance of this they were favoured to witness in 1816, in the case of an Indian, called Onim, whom the Lord was pleased to make a miracle of grace.

This Indian had from his youth given evidence of his hostility against the mission. He was one of those who calumniated John Papunhank at Friedenshuettten. At that time he used to wear a tomahawk in his girdle, and when questioned what he intended to do with it, replied, "Cleave the missionaries' skulls for deceiving the Indians." This enmity against the missionaries, and the Christian Indians generally, he manifested on all occasions, till within a few years, when the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. The first sign of a change in him was observed when he entertained the brethren Luckenbach and Zacharias in his cabin at the Monsy Town, on their way to Grand River. Till then, he had always been lurking in the neighbourhood of the settlements, trying to create disturbances ; and being a preacher among his countrymen, he used to dissuade them, by all the means in his power, from embracing the doctrines of the whites. "For," said he, "their skin is white, and ours is brown, and our whole manner of life is entirely different from theirs : of course they must also have a different way of happiness ; and those Indians who embrace their doctrine are altogether deceived."

He taught the existence of three gods ; a brown, a white, and a black god ; and that each nation should live conformably to the directions received from the god of their colour. The Indians, of course, were to preserve their own religious ceremonies, their feasts, dances, sorceries, etc. He opposed, in particular, the gospel doctrines of the remission of sins ; teaching his countrymen, that those who lived according to the will of the great Good Spirit, would, after this life, go to him ; but those who acted differently, would be banished to the haunts of the evil spirit. He believed not only in the immortality of the human soul, but even asserted, that all creatures, and also trees, and herbs, are inhabited by a living soul ; accounting for the withering of the latter, when cut down, by saying, that their indwelling spirit then left them.

From what he said during his last illness, it appears that he was led to reflect on his lost state, by a remark addressed to him by an Indian sister, Anna Paulina, who met him, in December, 1815, at the house of a sick woman, whom he was endeavouring to cure by his sorceries ; for he had always pretended to great skill in this art. The following spring he was taken ill, when on his way to Monsy Town, for the purpose of assisting at a feast to be held there. Unable to proceed further than New Fairfield, he returned to his friends, who had a camp near the settlement.

On the 10th of March, 1816, he sent for brother Jacob, one of the native assistants, and among other remarks, observed, "A word, lately spoken by one of your Christian Indians, has laid hold of my soul. I begin to be troubled in my mind, and

to grow doubtful concerning my spiritual state. My constant cry is, Oh for some one to show me the right way!" Having said more to the same effect, Jacob addressed him nearly in the following words: "Thou hast now told me a great deal; I will tell thee something too. Listen to me, Onim! I well remember, that, ever since I was a little child, thou hast often been with the congregation of Christian Indians, always going from and coming again to us. For many years thou hast heard the gospel which we believe. But, till now, thou hast despised and ridiculed it, saying, 'I have another way to be saved, according to my creation.\* But now, when thou art here in a miserable situation, lying on hard boards, unable to help thyself, thy little property spent in drinking, nobody taking care of thee, and death seeming to be at hand; now dost thou say, at last, 'I have brought terror on my mind, because I have been so wicked!' Oh that these words of thine were but true! Would to God thou didst but feel real anxiety about thy condition! For then thy soul might yet be saved. Art thou indeed convinced that the devil hath deceived thee? Why art thou concerned about thyself at last, at the very end of thy life? In the days of thy health thou hast despised and mocked at the word of God; thou hast dissuaded and prevented others who were disposed to believe; and thou hast tried to entice those away who joined the congregation. Thou hast made thy jest of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. But know thou, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Creator of heaven and earth,

\* This is an Indian phrase, implying, according as the Great Spirit and Creator has directed and appointed for me.

became a man : this is the truth. He suffered, was tormented to death, and shed his precious blood for the remission of sins : this is also the truth. And unless thou obtain pardon of thy many and great sins, through faith in his blood, and thy heart be cleansed therewith, believe me, thou shalt, after death, go straightway to hell, into everlasting perdition. And there thou wilt find cause to accuse no one, neither men, nor God who made thee, but thyself, thyself alone. Nor will thy living with us, as thou desirest, avail thee any thing, unless thou be pardoned and purified from thy sins by the precious blood of Christ, whose mercy thou must earnestly seek. Reflect upon this, and recollect what thou hast formerly heard from us Christian Indians and our ministers."

The next day he was visited by the missionary Dencke, who spoke to him in the same earnest and faithful manner. Among other questions, he asked him, whether it was true that he had been a murderer and sorcerer ? To this he replied, "The former is a false accusation ; and sorcery is a deceit of the devil ; it is naught : of this I am now convinced." With many tears he lamented his past wicked life, and made so affecting a confession of his faith in Jesus, that all present were melted into tears ; and the work of grace, wrought in his heart by the Holy Ghost, was most strikingly manifest. Brother Dencke then explained to him, that the mere rite of baptism could avail him nothing, unless he experienced in his heart, through faith, the purifying power of the blood of Christ ; whereupon he exclaimed, "I believe ! I believe ! Do ye also have pity on me."

His repentance appearing truly sincere, and his earnest request for baptism to proceed from an ardent desire of receiving this rite, he was baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, and called Leonard. All his doubts and fears now vanished ; he truly enjoyed the peace of God in his soul, and continued in prayer day and night almost till he drew his last breath, on the morning of the 13th, exalting the mercy of his Redeemer, and inviting all to come unto him, that they might obtain pardon and remission of their sins. Addressing his countrymen, he said, " Formerly I spoke evil words to you, when you showed any desire to be converted, trying to dissuade you from it ; forgive me for so doing, and follow my dying advice, which is, to forsake your wicked ways, or else you will be lost. Turn to your Saviour, and experience what I now feel, and you shall live."

" The solemnity attending this transaction," the missionaries remark, " may more easily be conceived than described, and will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The Christian Indians were filled with joy, and exclaimed, ' Onim our enemy is become our brother Leonard !' The conversion and death of this extraordinary man spoke volumes to the hearts of his late hearers ; and the impression made thereby upon his heathen countrymen, under God, proved highly favourable to the cause of the gospel."

A new awakening seemed to take place among the inhabitants of the settlement, which extended also to the children, and their separate meetings were distinguished by particular devotion and attention to the word of God. The remarkable conversion of Onim made a salutary impression,

not only upon the Indians, but also upon many white people in that neighbourhood. Several heathen were baptized in 1817, and some, who had been baptized in infancy, were now solemnly received as members of the church. Thus the Lord was fulfilling unto them his promise, "In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee."

From the foregoing relation it appears, that the United Brethren have now continued their labours in propagating the gospel among the North American Indians for more than ninety years. The little success which has hitherto attended their endeavours, may probably have disappointed the reader's expectation. Were strenuous exertions, indefatigable labour, patient perseverance, constant self-denial, and devoted zeal, sufficient to ensure success, they might indeed have collected a greater number of converts, for the preceding pages supply ample proof that they were not deficient in these qualifications. However, the blessing which has accompanied their efforts verifies the Divine promise, "My word shall not return unto me void;" while their comparatively small success as clearly demonstrates, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." Indeed, the peculiar habits and roving disposition of the Indians, the frequent wars among themselves and the white people, and the introduction of the rum trade, have always operated as strong barriers against the propagation of the gospel, and continue to throw impediments in the way of its converting influence, which nothing but Omnipotent grace can conquer.

From a register of the Indian congregation,

dated 1772, it appears, that the number of heathen baptized by the brethren, from the commencement of the mission to that time, amounted to seven hundred and twenty. Of the subsequent years no authentic records remain, as the church books, and other manuscripts, were lost at the destruction of settlements on the Muskingum, or during the warlike commotions which afterwards arose. In 1817, the number of Christian Indians belonging to the three congregations of the brethren, amounted to one hundred and fifty. The missionaries, indeed, are not anxious to collect great numbers of nominal Christians, but rather wish that those whom they baptize should give reasonable proofs that they truly desire to die unto sin and live unto righteousness. Respecting the number of Indians baptized by the brethren, Heckewelder says: "From the commencement of the mission among the Mohicans in the States of New York and Connecticut, in 1740, and among the Delawares in Pennsylvania a year later, to the year 1808, inclusive, between thirteen and fourteen hundred souls were baptized by the brethren. The exact number cannot be ascertained, on account of the loss of the church registers, but as to hundreds the number is not overrated."\*

The following extract, from the Journal of New Fairfield, is deeply interesting, from the instance it affords of parental submission, as well as from what it furnishes of early piety. "October 26, 1833:—We followed the remains of a little Indian

\* The Delaware congregation consisted, at the last returns, of two hundred and forty-seven persons, of whom thirty-nine were communicants.

girl to the grave; she was the daughter of Anthony and Lydia, and died of a nervous fever, at the age of ten years. The parents evinced the most entire resignation to the will of the Lord; and her father said, 'Of all my children, I loved this child the most; for she was the most dutiful. Since she had the measles, better than a year ago, she has never been well. Some time ago she asked me very seriously, whether the earth, and all that is therein, would be burned up, as she had understood the missionary to say at church. And being assured that such was the prediction of Holy Writ, she replied, 'Father! I have no desire any longer to remain in this wicked world; but would rather go to my Saviour, where I shall be safe for ever.' With tears in his eyes, the father continued: 'The Lord gave me this child, and I dedicated it to him in holy baptism, with the rest of my children. If he chooses to take one and another to himself, I have no right to complain.'"

It will not be irrelevant to the subject, or uninteresting to the reader, before the chapter is closed, to insert a short account of the other establishments of the brethren in North America. For, although they are not missionary settlements, they afford great facilities for propagating the gospel among the heathen. Besides congregations in the towns of New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport in Rhode Island, Yorktown, and other places, they have several regular settlements, or colonies of their own. The principal of these are Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, etc., in the state of Pennsylvania; Salem, Bethabara, Friedberg, and others, in North Carolina; and

some smaller colonies in different parts of the country, as Gnadenhuetten on the Mahony, a colony of the same name, and Bersaba on the Muskingum, Bethel on the Swatara, etc. These settlements are inhabited by German and English colonists, and their descendants, being members of the brethren's church. Reference has been made to some of them in the preceding narrative.

The importance of these settlements, in relation to the missionary labours of the brethren, is very considerable. Most of the brethren and sisters, employed in the instruction of the Indians, are selected from the inhabitants of these colonies. Having for a longer or shorter period been residents in the country, they have become in some degree acquainted with the character and customs of the people among whom they are called to labour, and with the peculiar difficulties attending missionary undertakings among the Indians, and are thus better qualified for the due discharge of their important calling. In the American Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, which holds its regular meetings at Bethlehem and Salem, they have a band of faithful friends at hand, always ready to aid their exertions, assist them with their counsel, and sympathize with them, no less in the day of trial than in the season of prosperity. An occasional visit to a Christian congregation, and intercourse with their brethren and sisters, though but for a few days, tends greatly to strengthen their hands in God, and endow them with renewed fortitude for encountering the hardships and dangers unavoidably connected with their arduous office. If sickness, or increasing infirmities and old age, disable them

from further active labours, they meet in these settlements with a comfortable retreat in the midst of their former friends. Here are also institutions for the education of their children, and for their instruction in manual labour, and business of various kinds.

The converted Indians themselves derive essential benefit from these establishments. They furnish them with occasional opportunities, when on a journey, of beholding the order, piety, and devotion of a Christian congregation. The good impressions thereby made upon their minds they carry home with them, and they serve to cherish among their believing countrymen a disposition to value the salutary regulations introduced by the missionaries in their own villages. Besides, these settlements have, at different times, offered a safe retreat to the Christian Indians, when persecuted by their pagan countrymen, or suffering from the ravages of war.

The facilities thus afforded to the missionary exertions of the brethren are not confined to the Indians, but extend to other heathens, equally needing the glorious light of the gospel to dispel their mental darkness. It is well known, that many thousand African negroes live with the white settlers, especially in Carolina and Virginia. These poor people have for some years engaged the special attention of the brethren, and the ministers of their church in different places have frequently visited and preached to them. Several have been baptized, and admitted to communion with those of their congregations in whose vicinity they reside.

## CHAPTER X.

*Missions of the American Board—Visit of a traveller to Brainerd—Piety, zeal, and usefulness of a Cherokee girl—Catherine Brown—Usefulness of a tract—Invention of Cherokee characters—Improved state of the Cherokees—Arrest of the missionaries—Their imprisonment—Their employments, peace, and usefulness—Their sentence—Mission to the Choctaws—Murder of the innocent—Desire for instruction—Visit of Mr. Hodgson to Eliot—A convert—Visit of Rev. Mr. Goodell to Mayhew—Removal of the Choctaws*

THE American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have had several stations among this people, to whose civilization and evangelization their labours have been greatly blessed.

A gentleman, on a journey, turned out of his way, from curiosity, and spent a day at the station called Brainerd. He went into the school, heard every class read and recite; in fact, examined everything. At parting, he gave a very handsome donation to the mission, and soon after wrote to a friend: "I declare that I never saw a better regulated school, or scholars of more promising talents and dispositions. They were quick of apprehension, retentive in memory, docile and affectionate."—Previous to this visit, he did not believe in the practicability of Indian reform; and thought all efforts to civilize and christianize the people little better than useless. His testimony, therefore, has great weight.

Among the proofs afforded of the beneficial effect of religious education, is the following:—

J. H. entered the school when about nine years of age, and she continued there, though not very steadily, for about four years, when she died. This little girl was the daughter of the first native who joined the church. Before coming to the school, she had suffered greatly for want of parental control and instruction. Her mother was capricious and passionate. But very soon after entering it, she had her attention arrested by religious instruction. To her every thing on the subject was new, and when she heard a sentiment opposed to what she had before been taught, she doubted, and sometimes disputed its truth, till her confidence in the superior knowledge of her teachers led her to embrace it. What she thus learned, she faithfully remembered, and repeated to her mother. One instance is now distinctly recollected. “I had spoken to the school,” says the missionary, “on the folly of believing in the existence, and fearing the power and malice of witches. J. was all attention, but her countenance showed that I had invaded an important article of her creed. It was evident she wished to speak, but she could not summon sufficient firmness to do it before the whole school. She, however, looked a contradiction. For two days, it was manifest that this subject almost exclusively occupied her thoughts, and that she regarded me as almost guilty of infidelity, if not blasphemy. At last, when the boys were all absent, she ventured to speak. ‘Mr. W.,’ said she, ‘I seed a witch in mamma’s tater patch.’ I then entered into conversation with her on the subject, and showed her how easy it was for her to be deceived

respecting it. From that moment, her belief and fear of witches vanished. Her mind was very seriously exercised on religious subjects, and she often became the instracter, and sometimes, though always respectfully, the reprobator of her mother. It is not known that her labours with her mother ever produced any abiding effects, until she was called to bury an infant. In this season of affliction J. was allowed to visit her, and she found her indulging a very improper temper, openly arraigning the councils of Heaven, and rebelliously murmuring that God had taken away the object of her love. J. was faithful. She told her mother who had chastened her, and for what end He had done it, and how she ought to receive and improve the stroke; exhorting her to prepare to follow her child to eternity. This conversation made impressions on the heart of her mother, which, it is hoped terminated in her conversion to God. J. had never spoken of herself as a Christian, till after she became confined to her death-bed. On that, she expressed a hope in the Redeemer, a willingness, and even a desire to die and be with him. The family had indulged a hope that she was savingly taught and influenced by the Holy Spirit, for a considerable time before she left the school; though they carefully avoided any mention of their hopes to her. But the just views expressed by her, on her death-bed, of herself as a lost and helpless sinner, her clear apprehensions of the way of salvation by Christ, her earnest application to him, and confident reliance upon him, added to her strong expressions of love to him and desire for the salvation of her friends and youthful companions, afford an unspeakably joyful hope, that she is now with Christ."

A more particular account must be given of Catherine Brown. At the time of her birth her parents dwelt in Wills' Valley, in the state of Alabama. In early childhood, Catherine went to visit a Cherokee family, who understood English, and thus she acquired so much knowledge of it, as to be able to converse on common topics, and to read in words of one syllable. In July, 1817, she was admitted into the school at Brainerd. She was then about seventeen years of age, very interesting in her person and manners, richly attired in the dress of her country, and appearing highly to value the numerous ornaments with which her neck, arms, and hands were decorated.

Mr. Kingsbury feared she would not yield cheerfully to the regulations of the school; but she engaged in study with so much zeal and perseverance, that her improvement was astonishing. At the end of sixty days she could read the Bible; after ninety days, she could read fluently in any book; and when she had filled only four sheets of paper, she wrote a neat, handsome hand, without a copy. At an early period she became the subject of religious impressions, and soon, it was hoped, gave herself wholly to the Saviour. She then experienced the most intense longings of soul for the salvation of her benighted, yet beloved countrymen. In her leisure moments the Bible was her constant companion, and often were her tears seen to fall on the sacred page.

To her brother David she was most tenderly attached; and frequently did she retire to the woods to pray for his speedy conversion. On one occasion she proceeded thither in the morning, and so ardent were her desires and supplications for his

reconciliation to God, that the day glided away unperceived, and she continued her intercessions undisturbed, till the going down of the sun; when she returned to the house with assured hope, that the desire of her heart would, ere long, be granted. With her female schoolfellows she prayed and conversed every evening, in the most earnest and affecting manner; and many were the hopeful converts in the school, neighbourhood, and nation, through the instrumentality of her prayers, labours, and example, while in health, and during her sickness and death.

In January, 1818, the month she was united to the church, her father determined to remove to the Arkansas country, and came with his wife for their daughter. Although the thought of separation from her beloved friends was "more bitter than death," she meekly yielded to the decision of her parents, after having in vain entreated that she might be allowed to remain until she had acquired sufficient knowledge to be useful to her people. Her father, therefore, bore her away into the deep shades of that forest, where she first opened her eyes on a ruined world. The projected journey was, however, delayed, and Catherine cherished a hope that he might either be disposed to leave her, or decline going altogether. But suddenly preparations were made for a hasty departure, and these gave a fresh stimulus to her prayers. One evening, after being engaged in fervent supplication, she entered the room where her parents were sitting alone, when her father said, "We know you feel very bad about leaving the missionaries, and going with us to the Arkansas; we have been talking about it; we pity you, and have concluded that you may go back."

At hearing this, her emotions were indescribable ; and not only did her father take her back to Brainerd, but deferred moving over the Mississippi.

Her brother David now sought admission into the school ; and, after a time, gave the most satisfactory evidence of a change of heart. Soon after this, her father fell sick at Creek Path, and was speedily visited by his son and daughter. The first thing the former did, on entering the house, was to read the Bible, interpreting it, verse by verse, to his parent and the other members of the family, exhorting them all, with great solemnity, to think of their sins, to repent of them, and to love that great, holy, and good God, of whom he had been reading. During his visit he maintained family worship, and declared the truths of the gospel to his connexions and neighbours, who gave many symptoms of religious concern. In about six weeks, Mr. Brown had so far recovered, that he intimated his intention of returning to Brainerd, with David and Catherine, and to make a vigorous effort for a teacher for his own village. Into his views the missionaries cordially entered. The Rev. Mr. Buttrick and John Arch proceeded to Creek Path, and a day was soon appointed for commencing the buildings. When it arrived, men and children assembled in as large numbers as could work to advantage. They went out, cut the timber, and laboured with such zeal and success, that, before night, a school-house, measuring twenty-two feet by seventeen, was put up, and even much of the inside work was completed. The next day, Saturday, they assembled, to work on the roof, door, floor, and chimney, which, in the evening, were so forward, that a meeting on the sabbath was appointed ; and Mr.

Buttrick preached to a considerable number of black, white, and Cherokee people. Within the week, the house was finished, and the school opened. In a fortnight thirty scholars were admitted; and on the second sabbath a school was commenced.

As the want of a female teacher was felt, Catherine Brown was invited to assist Mr. Buttrick; but though she feared her qualifications were not such as to render her acceptable and useful, she yielded to the wishes of her friends, in whom she placed the greatest confidence. As soon as the tidings reached the ears of her people, their hearts were full of joy; and immediately more than fifty men, besides boys, proceeded to build a house of the same dimensions as that previously erected.

On Catherine's arrival at the station, she found herself surrounded by twenty promising girls; and her heart overflowed with gratitude, when she discovered that the minds of all her family were more or less affected by a sense of sin. She had soon the unspeakable joy of seeing them, one after another, bowing down, with broken and contrite hearts, to the sceptre of her almighty and adorable Redeemer. She afterwards resigned her charge to Mrs. Potter, and once more resumed her studies, attending to the higher branches of literature, and hoping thereby to increase her power of doing good among her "poor people," as she often called her countrymen.

Her brother John gradually sunk into a decline, and during the whole of his illness, his affectionate sister hung over his bed of languishing, continually encouraging his faith in the promises of Christ. She was comforted in his death; for he expired

triumphing in redeeming love. A few weeks after, it was perceived, by some of her ever-watchful friends, that she had a slight cough, which increased as the next winter approached. She then became deeply impressed with the subject of death, conversed much about eternity, and said to Mrs. Potter, she rather thought a consumption had settled upon her. Her friend inquired after her feelings in prospect of dissolution ; when she answered, with flowing tears, "I am not prepared to die!" Mrs. Potter said, "You have a hope of happiness beyond the grave." She replied, "Yes, I have a hope, resting on the promises of the Saviour ; but I have been unfaithful." Her friend was deeply affected ; and, for some time, they wept together in silence. At length Catherine said, in a very sweet tone, "How beautiful this hymn!" and repeated the one, by Dr. Watts, which thus commences :

" Why should we start and fear to die?  
What timorous worms we mortals are !  
Death is the gate of endless joy,  
And yet we dread to enter there."

From that evening she never manifested any distressing fears of death or its consequences, as they concerned herself ; but, at times, when she spoke of her beloved parents sinking under the infirmities of age and indisposition, her perishing nation, and the brightening prospects of usefulness, she clung to life with longing desires to recover.

Mrs. Potter, the friend of her heart, had watched her declining state with all a mother's tenderness, and a sister's love ; and feeling convinced that her end was near, wrote a letter to David, then at the

Cornwall mission school. Before sealing it, she said, "Catherine, what shall I say to your brother for you?" After a pause, she replied, "If you will write, I will dictate a short letter." Then raising herself in bed, and wiping away a falling tear, she began to relate what God had recently done for her soul. "To my partial eye, Mrs. Potter wrote to a friend, "she was at that moment a most interesting spectacle; and I have often wished that portrait could then have been taken. Her countenance was softened with the affectionate remembrance of an endeared brother; her cheek was a little flushed with the exertion of speaking; her eye beamed with spiritual joy; and a peaceful smile animated the whole scene. I shall never forget it, nor the words she then whispered in my ear." Some of the remarks she made were as follow: "I have found it good for me to be afflicted. The Saviour is very precious to me. I often enjoy his presence, and I long to be where I can enjoy it without sin. I have, indeed been brought very low, and I did not expect to live until this time. But I have had joy, and such as I never experienced before. I longed to be gone; I was ready to die at any moment. We ought to be thankful for what the Lord has done for us. If he had not sent us the gospel, we should have died without any knowledge of the Saviour. You must not be grieved when you hear of my illness; you must remember that this world is not our home; that we must all die soon."

When informed by the physician that death was near, Catherine heard him with seriousness, but manifested no uneasiness or alarm. But when the doctor expressed his fears to her father, the poor

old man remained silent some minutes, and motionless as a statue; and then said, with deep solemnity, "The Lord has been good to give me such a child, and he has a right to take her when he thinks best. But though it is my duty to give her up, it is hard to part with her."

Catherine remained calm and unmoved till the sorrows of death encompassed her; but then, as she saw the grief of her father, mother, and sister, the tears started into her eyes. As the powers of nature gave way, and she felt herself sinking, she frequently held out her hand to weeping friends, as though she longed to comfort them; then raising her eyes, beaming with love and tenderness, towards her weeping mother, on whom they rested for a moment, she closed them in death. Her age was about twenty-three. Her remains were conveyed to Creek Path, and placed by the side of those of her brother John. A neat wooden monument marks the spot where they will rest till the morning of that glorious day, when all the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty will burst the bars of death, and rise triumphing in the love of their exalted Redeemer.

A native convert, who had been the principal agent in meetings carried on at one place, was furnished, by the missionaries at Carmel, with some English tracts, to give to such white men as came in his way. Not long after, a white man, from some of the adjoining counties, came on a visit, and received a tract from the Cherokee. He carried it home, read it, and handed it to a neighbour, who perused it, and by this means was converted; and has since, it appears, made a public profession of religion. Thus can truth,

though disseminated by feeling instruments, when accompanied by the Spirit of God, be effectual to the salvation of souls ; and thus can a humble, yet devoted Christian, be honoured by conveying the truth to his perishing fellow-men.

A new character has been invented under singular circumstances. An illiterate Cherokee, named George Guess, was not able to speak English, but had ascertained that marks could be made the symbols of sound ; he therefore thought that all the syllables of the Cherokee language might be thus expressed ; and further, that if it could be done, he might accomplish it. After long and close application, he could remember eighty-four syllables, which he represented by various characters, some of which he made like our Roman letters, a very little altered ; and others he invented himself. After becoming thoroughly acquainted with his marks or symbols, he commenced writing letters to his unenlightened countrymen, which they could read after a little instruction. It was soon discovered that Indians could talk on paper to their friends, five hundred miles beyond the Mississippi ; and the whole nation was thus roused to enthusiastic admiration. The tidings spread with such rapidity, that enterprising young men travelled from the remote parts of the nation to acquire this important art, which, however, seldom detained them more than two or three days. Wherever they went afterwards, they were followed by multitudes, to whom, with delight, they communicated their newly-acquired knowledge. It appears, there are only ninety syllables in the Cherokee language, although it is considered a very copious one ; and few doubts are entertained, that if books were

immediately printed in Guess's character, persons would be found in every part of the nation who could read them, after a few hours' instruction.

Mr. Worcester, after many opportunities for correct information, says :—

"As far as my knowledge extends, the laws are executed with a good degree of efficiency, and their execution meets with not the least hindrance from any thing like a spirit of insubordination among the people. Oaths are constantly administered in the courts of justice, and I believe I have never heard of an instance of perjury.

"It has been well observed by others, that the progress of a people in civilization is to be determined by comparing the present with the past. I can only compare what I see with what I am told has been.

"The present principal chief is about forty years of age. When he was a boy, his father procured him a good suit of clothes, in the fashion of the sons of civilized people; but he was so ridiculed by his mates as a white boy, that he took off his new suit, and refused to wear it. The editor of the Cherokee Phoenix is twenty-seven years old. He well remembers that he felt awkward and ashamed of his singularity, when he began to wear the dress of a white boy. Now every boy is proud of a civilized suit, and those feel awkward and ashamed of their singularity who are destitute of it. At the last session of the general council, I scarcely recollect having seen any members who were not clothed in the same manner as the white inhabitants of the neighbouring states; and those very few (I am informed that the precise number

was four) who were partially clothed in Indian style, were, nevertheless, very decently attired. The dress of civilized people is general throughout the nation. I have seen, I believe, only one Cherokee woman, and she an aged woman, away from her home, who was not clothed in, at least, a decent long gown. At home, only one, a very aged woman, who appeared willing to be seen in the original native dress; three or four, only, who had at their own houses dressed themselves in Indian style, but hid themselves with shame at the approach of a stranger. I am thus particular, because particular instances give more accurate ideas than general statements. Among the elderly men there is yet a considerable portion, I dare not say whether a majority or a minority, who retain the Indian dress in part. The younger men almost all dress like the whites around them, except that the greater number wear a turban instead of a hat, and in cold weather a blanket frequently serves for a cloak. Cloaks, however, are becoming common. There yet remains room for improvement in dress, but that improvement is making with surprising rapidity.

"The arts of spinning and of weaving, the Cherokee women, generally, put in practice. Most of their garments are of their own spinning and weaving, from cotton the produce of their own fields; though much calico is worn, nor is silk uncommon. Numbers of the men wear imported clothes, broad-cloths, etc., and many wear mixed cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives; but the greater part are clothed principally in cotton.

"Except in the arts of spinning and weaving,

but little progress has been made in manufactures. A few Cherokees, however, are mechanics.

"Agriculture is the principal employment and support of the people. It is the dependence of almost every family. As to the wandering part of the people, who live by the chase, if they are to be found in the nation, I certainly have not discovered them, nor even heard of them, except from the House of Congress, and other distant sources of information. I do not know of a single family who depend, in any considerable degree, on game for a support. It is true, that deer and turkeys are frequently killed, but not in sufficient numbers to form any dependence as the means of subsistence. The land is cultivated with very different degrees of industry; but I believe that few fail of an adequate supply of food. The ground is uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not, as formerly, by the hoe only.

"The houses of the Cherokees are of all sorts, from an elegant painted or brick mansion down to a very mean log cabin. If we speak, however, of the mass of the people, they live in comfortable log houses, generally one story high, but frequently two; sometimes of hewn logs, and sometimes un-hewn; commonly with a wooden chimney, and a floor of puncheons, or what a New-England man would call slabs. Their houses are not generally well furnished; many have scarcely any furniture, though a few are furnished even elegantly, and many decently. Improvement in the furniture of their houses appears to follow after improvement in dress, but at present is making rapid progress.

"As to education, the number who can read and write English is considerable, though it bears

but a moderate proportion to the whole population. Among such, the degree of improvement and intelligence is various. The Cherokee language, as far as I can judge, is read and written by a large majority of those between childhood and middle age. Only a few who are much beyond middle age have learned in English.

"Many of the heathenish customs of the people are gone entirely, or almost entirely, into disuse, and others are fast following their steps. I believe the greater part of the people acknowledge the Christian religion to be the true religion, although many who make this acknowledgment know very little of that religion, and many others do not feel its power. Through the blessings of our God, however, religion is steadily gaining ground.

"But, it will be asked, is the improvement which has been described general among the people, and are the full-blooded Indians civilized, or only the half-breeds? I answer, that, in the description which I have given, I have spoken of the mass of the people, without distinction. If it be asked, however, what class are most advanced, I answer, as a general thing—those of mixed blood. They have taken the lead, although some of full blood are as civilized as any. But, though those of mixed blood are generally in the van, as might naturally be expected, yet, the whole mass of the people is on the march."

Since the period thus referred to, affecting changes have taken place. The missionaries were forbidden to reside among the people, by the laws of Georgia, on the charge that they used improper exertions to induce the Cherokees to refuse to sell their country, and to remove across the

Mississippi river; that they encouraged them to oppose the extension of the jurisdiction of the state of Georgia over them; and that they urged a resistance of the policy of that state individually, as well as the government of the United States; —a charge altogether vague and unsupported. Nor was this all; circumstances occurred of a deeply painful character.

In 1817, some missionaries from Brainerd proceeded to the Choctaw nation, where they commenced a station, to which they gave the name of Eliot. But not long after the school was established, and the mission family began to be cheered by the prospect of success, they met with a severe trial in the murder of an old woman, named Ell-e-kee, who had lived with them some time, and afforded them valuable assistance.

The desire discovered for instruction was often peculiarly strong. To give one instance: a caravan of Indians, removing from one part of the tribe to another, encamped near Eliot, and gladly employed Mr. Fisk to repair their tools, as they intended to forego the chase, and to live by agriculture in their new settlement. The travellers were invited to visit the mission-school in the evening; and it made an attractive appearance when the pictures and lessons were arranged, and the room was well lighted. The strangers entered it with evident amazement and delight; and the neat appearance of the children, their orderly, cheerful, and agreeable behaviour, and their sweet singing, induced one of the visitors to remark, that "he should not be tired of sitting there all night." The next morning, when the party were about to proceed on their journey, a

girl, about thirteen years of age, pleaded most earnestly to be taken into the school, but she was told that many had been refused, and that no more could be received. Her friends endeavoured to pacify her, by reminding her that she had no clothes like the scholars, and that this was a sufficient reason for her not remaining. To her, however, it was no objection; for she had a cow, which she said she could sell, and purchase suitable clothing. Mr. Kingsbury felt unable to refuse any longer, and resolved she should stay, fully persuaded that the Lord would provide. After his consent was given, an inferior chieftain, uncle to the little girl, offered to pay for her clothing and blankets, and thus, to her great delight, she entered the school.

Almost the first Christian visitor ever received at Eliot, was Adam Hodgson, Esq., an English traveller from Liverpool, who, assured of a hearty welcome, turned out of this way sixty miles. He thus describes his interview with Mr. Kingsbury in his own room, which, with his accustomed hospitality, he had resigned for the accommodation of his friend:—“A log cabin, detached from the other wooden buildings, in the middle of a boundless forest, in an Indian country, consecrated, if I may be allowed the expression, by standing on missionary ground, and by forming at once the dormitory and sanctuary of ‘a man of God;’ it seemed to be indeed the prophet’s chamber, with the ‘bed and the table, the stool and the candle-stick.’ It contained also a little book-case, with a valuable selection of pious books, periodical, biographical, and devotional; among which I found many an old acquaintance in this foreign

land, and which enable Mr. Kingsbury, in his few moments of leisure, to converse with many who have long since joined the spirits of just men made perfect, or to sympathize with his fellow-labourers in Otaheite, Africa, or Hindostan. About midnight we became thirsty with talking so much, and he proposed that we should walk to the spring at a little distance. The night was beautifully serene after the heavy showers of the preceding night; and the coolness of the air, the fresh fragrance of the trees, the deep stillness of the midnight hour, and the soft light which an unclouded moon shed on the log cabins of the missionaries, contrasted with the dark shadows of the surrounding forest, impressed me with feelings which I can never forget."

Speaking of the mission-family, Mr. Hodgson, remarked, "I was particularly struck with their apparent humility, with their kindness of manner towards one another, and the little attentions which they seemed solicitous to reciprocate. They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced, in at least an equal degree, by the soldier, the sailor, and even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out for two or three months, in the woods, with their little babes, in tents which cannot resist the rain, here falling in torrents, such as I never saw in England, within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached almost to the door: the females must be allowed to require some courage; while, during many seasons

of the year, the men cannot go twenty miles from home (and they are often obliged to go thirty or forty for provisions) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness from worldly motives, they could wish them suppressed in the missionary reports, if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy, retired life. Their real trials they stated to consist in their own imperfections, and in those mental maladies, which the retirement of a desert cannot cure. In the course of our walks, Mr. Williams pointed out to me a simple tomb, in which he had deposited the remains of a younger brother, who lost his way in the desert, in coming out to join them, and whose long exposure to rain and fasting laid the foundation of a fatal disease. It was almost in sight of one of those Indian mounds, of which the oldest Indians can give no account. They resemble the cairns in Scotland; and one of the missionaries mentioned having seen a skeleton dug out of one of them. I was gratified by my visit to Eliot, this garden in a moral wilderness; and was pleased with the opportunity of seeing a missionary settlement in its infant state, before the wounds from recent separation from kindred and friends had ceased to bleed, and habit had rendered the missionaries familiar with the peculiarities of their novel situation. The sight of the children also, many of them still in Indian costume, was most interesting. I could not help imagining that, before me, might be some Alfred of this western world, the future founder of insti-

tutions which are to enlighten and civilize this country; some Choctaw Swartz, or Eliot, destined to disseminate the blessings of Christianity from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea. I contrasted them, in their social, their moral, and their religious condition, with the straggling hunters and their painted faces, who occasionally stare through the windows, or with the half-naked savages, whom we had seen a few nights before, dancing round their midnight fires, with their tomahawks and scalping-knives, rending the air with their fierce war-whoop, or making the woods thrill with their savage yells. But they form a still stronger contrast with the poor Indians, whom we had seen on the frontier, corrupted, degraded, debased, by their intercourse with English, Irish, or American traders. It was not without emotion that I parted, in all human probability for ever, in this world, from my kind and interesting friends, and prepared to return to the tumultuous scenes of a busy world; from which, if life be spared, my thoughts will often stray to the sacred solitudes of Yellow Busha, as to a source of the most grateful and refreshing recollections."

The following is an interesting narrative :—  
“ T. came to hear something more of that word which has of late become precious to his soul. I never saw him when he appeared to be more happy in God. The following is the substance of his remarks. ‘ Very true; Jesus, my Saviour, is good indeed; supremely good and kind, in showing mercy to such a vile worm as I am. How just he would have been, to cut me off in my sins! Not on account of any goodness in me, but

through his great mercy, Jehovah provided me a Saviour, and has made me willing to submit to him. He saw me just ready to perish; but so great were his love and compassion, that he, as it were, stretched out his hands, and catching hold, saved my sinking soul. Surely Jesus alone is my Saviour. I love him, but should not have loved him, if he had not loved me first, and died to save me. His blood alone can wash this polluted heart. I hope he has given me a desire to follow him as long as I live; and, through his aid, I will do so. I have no hope but in him. I desire no other Saviour. As to myself, I am nothing; a worm, an insect of a day: my body is dust; and let it return to dust, from whence it came. Yea, should Jesus call for my soul this very day, it is well. I long to go and be with him. I do know that I am vile, exceedingly vile. I do not say that I am a Christian. If I am one, I am the least; a very little child. But my Jesus has bought me; and let him come, however soon, and take his own child home. My heart cries unto him daily, at home and abroad, for his salvation. I hunger, I thirst, for more and more of his good Spirit. But, as I cannot get a full supply here, I long to go and be with him, that I may be satisfied.'

"Catching hold of the missionary's hand, he said, 'We should, indeed, love one another, since Jesus has loved us.'

"Speaking of the evil propensities of his heart, he smote violently on his breast two or three times, and said, his heart wanted to go astray constantly; which made it absolutely necessary for him to watch, and keep it strictly. Much he said in

words ; much more, if possible, was expressed in his actions and countenance. After singing, he poured forth the breathings of his full soul in humble prayer. Surely there is occasion to rejoice in what the Lord hath wrought in this man. It is all of grace."

From several interesting sketches given by Mr. Williams, the following is selected :—

" Hotonah, a young widow, who was converted to God in the summer of 1833, and had set her face as a flint Zionward, was called at a moment's warning from time to eternity. Early in the morning, two days before her death, her parents were speaking about their labour ; when she suddenly said, ' I shall not assist you in planting ; I am going to die.' A kind of stupidity, followed by uneasiness, and soon after by spasmodic affections, were her first symptoms of disease. She said, ' I shall die this day : I wish to see my child and my brother,' who were at school. They were sent for. In the mean time she said, ' Father ! mother ! I go before you to the good world. We, as a family, have lived together in peace, trusting and loving our heavenly Father, I will salute you all for the last time.' Calling upon them to take her by the hand, ' I bid you adieu till the judgment-day ; then we shall meet and salute again.' Her child was brought. ' Salute me, my child,' (that is, shake hands.) ' I do not cast you away from me : I only go before you to heaven. Follow me, my child—do surely follow me ! My father ! my mother ! mourn not for me, I go not mourning, or in sorrow : I die rejoicing : it is well with me.' Numbers of her friends came in : ' Oh ! all of you,' she said,

'salute me! Let us bid a last farewell, until we meet at the last great day. All ye who trust in the Lord, be earnest, diligent, and follow me. Let all who hear of me, pray for me.'

"In the evening, as her end drew near, one of the elders of the church came in, and inquired if she knew her heavenly Father still. 'Yes, I know him still! Oh, sing, sing the heavenly song, all of you!' Several Choctaw hymns were sung, in which she joined with her dying breath; and when her voice had failed, her lips still continued to move, until her happy spirit took leave of its crazy tenement."

One of the stations among the Choctaws, to which the name of Mayhew has been given, is thus vividly described by the Rev. Mr. Goodell, missionary to Palestine. As I drew near the long-wished-for spot, there opened unexpectedly to my view an extensive prairie, which contains several thousand acres, and which appeared to be without a single stone, or tree, or fence, except the railing which enclosed the fields of Mayhew. These fields are on the north side of the prairie, and directly in front of the mission-house. Casting your eyes over the prairie, you will discover, here and there, herds of cattle, of horses, and of wild deer, all grazing and happy. This is certainly the loveliest spot my eyes ever saw. The prairie has very gentle elevations and depressions, which contain each from a hundred to a thousand acres, and which, from a distance, resemble the undulating motion of the waters of the Atlantic, a few leagues from the land, after a tremendous storm. As I walked on, pausing and wondering, Mayhew would often almost wholly disappear, and again it would

rise to view in still greater loveliness, half encircled with the oak, the sycamore, and the mulberry, which border on the prairie on all sides. Flowers, red, purple, and yellow, and indeed of every hue, were scattered by a bountiful God in rich profusion on each side of my path, and their fragrance was as if the incense of heaven had been offered. The distance from Mayhew, which at first appeared to be no more than a few hundred rods, I found to be not less than two miles. But though the distance was so great, and though my limbs, through excessive fatigue, could scarcely perform their office, yet, in contemplating this lovely scene, with all its interesting associations, my soul, ere I was aware, ‘made me like the chariots of Amminadib.’”

The Choctaws have partaken of the disquietude and suffering of the Cherokees. They had indulged the hope that a treaty for their removal from their country would not be ratified; but when they heard that they must all find new homes in two years, gloom and despondency prevailed through the nation.

The Christian party, and especially the members of the churches, felt the calamity most deeply. They thought of the breaking up of their meetings, schools, and Christian neighbourhoods, and the separation from the missionaries and teachers, the value of whose labours for themselves and their children they had begun to appreciate. They assembled together immediately after receiving this mournful intelligence, and having examined their schools, sat together around the table of their Lord and Saviour, and reflected on the privileges which they must soon leave, and the unknown

hardships and privations they must encounter ; when they drew up and presented the following address to the missionaries :—

“ Friends and brothers—Good many years ago you came in our nation, and said you come among them, in order to teach the children of the Choctaw people. Our people rejoiced to have you teach their children, and were glad to embrace the opportunity. You told us that you had a beloved book, which tells about great Jehovah. The talk from this book we have not heard as we ought to have done. But Good Spirit, who is the Maker and Head of all things, has been pleased to open the ears of many of our people to hear the words of this good book. You know all about—we need not make many words about it. But we will appeal to what is known to yourselves of our attachment to the schools among us, and more particularly the word which this good book teach us to walk upright before God and man. Also, there has been much done for us to have books put in our hand, that many of our people can learn to read in their own language.

“ Friends and brothers, we can multiply words, and say much on many advantages that we have received. But we will stop, and ask our hearts, who has done these things for us whereof we are glad ?

“ Friends and brothers, when you came among us, good many years ago, you found us no school —no gospel—no songs of praise to Jehovah was heard.

“ Friends and brothers, we will give glory and praise to Jehovah in sending some here to teach us the way of life. It is you, our dearest friends,

whom the Saviour of sinners has been pleased, in his own goodness, to make an instrument in his hand of what has been done for us.

"Friends and brothers, therefore you see our situation. We are exceedingly tried. We have just heard of the ratification of the Choctaw treaty. Our doom is sealed. There is no other course for us, but to turn our faces to our new homes, toward the setting of the sun. Our rulers have assured us, on many accounts it will be best to make preparation to remove next fall; and as many as can get off, it will be done.

"Brothers, therefore we claim it as our privilege, as members of the church here, and also we have the full assurance of approval from our head men generally—that we humbly request the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to send us many of the preachers to go with us. Those who are here, we would be glad to have them go with us to our new homes. We would offer the same protection and friendship as we have done here. You see us, how we are situated. Unless you do something for us more beyond the great river Mississippi, we shall be in a distressed situation.

"We humbly ask the prayers of the churches generally, and particularly the church which we stand in relation to (the Presbyterian church.) We need their prayers, and help from them, as we are about to return to the wild woods.

"We are your friends and brothers in Christ."

These and similar appeals prevailed, and the Choctaws were accompanied in their removal by two missionaries.

## CHAPTER XI.

*The Osages—The captive—Traditions—Desire for a missionary—Hope of success—Instances of usefulness—The Creeks—Good effected and promised—The Chickasaws— Indian council—Effect of a convert's address—Interesting service—Influence of the gospel in affliction—Usefulness among the Ottawas—Visit to the Tuscaroras—The Senecas—Zeal and intrepidity of Mr. Holmes—Triumph over impostors—Temporal and spiritual good enjoyed — Indians in New York — Traditions — School at Cattaraugus—Progress of the scholars.*

IN a journey of Mr. Cornelius, appointed in 1817, by the American Board of Commissioners, to visit several tribes of Indians, he and his companions were stopped in their way by the overflowing of a small stream. Towards evening, a party of Arkansas Cherokees encamped for the night not far off, and he therefore went to them to ascertain their feelings as to the institution of schools. They had kindled a fire under a tall tree which stood on the rising ground ; their baggage, consisting of various articles of travelling furniture, some sacks of corn and other provisions, the skins of wild beasts with which they made their beds, several bunches of bows and arrows, and their guns and tomahawks, were scattered about ; some were sitting, the rest were standing, and all presenting a truly savage appearance. Some of the weapons too were stained with blood, having

been taken in war with the Osage Indians, from the bodies of the killed or wounded.

Observing that the only female was a little girl, apparently not more than five years old, he inquired whose child she was, and was told she was a captive. On asking what had become of her parents, one of them took two scalps from his sack, and holding them up, said "Here they are!"

Compassionating the circumstances of this little child, who gazed at these horrid memorials of conquest with astonishment, as though she knew not what to make of the sight, and finding that a horse had been given for her to the original captor, Mr. C. wished to prevail on the Indian, whose property she was considered, to have her sent to Brainerd, soon after his return home, and this he engaged to do on the payment of one hundred dollars. The next day the waters of the creek had fallen, and Mr. C. resumed his journey, which he could not but think had been providentially interrupted; and he soon had the satisfaction of meeting with a lady, who said, if one hundred and fifty dollars would ransom the child, she was willing to give that sum for the purpose.

Various difficulties arose in obtaining the captive's release after this generous donation was received, but at length she was received at the station, and named Lydia Carter, in remembrance of her benefactress. Efforts were then made to obtain the redemption of her sister and of a little Osage boy, but it was only successful as to the latter, who was called John Osage Ross, in honour of the person who, after great toil and difficulty, became his deliverer. When Lydia arrived at Brainerd, where she was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain,

she had no knowledge of the English language, but so rapidly did she acquire it, that, in less than a year, she was able to speak it as well as children commonly do who have learned no other. She discovered great vigour of mind for one of her age, but owing to the hardships previously experienced, long-continued illness greatly retarded her education. In the things of God she was early instructed, and although she gave no decisive evidence of an inward change, her feelings were so serious and tender, that it seemed as if the Holy Spirit had begun to operate on her heart. Her temper was remarkably kind and affectionate, and when she did wrong, she confessed her faults, and expressed her sorrow. She was very grateful for the favours she had received, and often spoke in the tenderest manner of those who had, instrumentally, delivered her from captivity. Of the fate of her father nothing was certainly known, but on one occasion she described how her mother was killed, by some men who shot her in the breast.

To the great regret of the mission family, the two children were demanded by the Osage nation, and were therefore delivered to a person commissioned by the government to receive them. Lydia was to be returned to her friends at Brainerd by the first opportunity, but John was to live with Governor Miller, and to accompany him in a journey to New-England.

Lydia's health, however, soon failed, and death was evidently near, but her mind was calm, and through all her sickness she seemed resigned to the will of God; she frequently repeated the hymns she had learned at Brainerd, and from these appeared to derive comfort. They, doubtless, led her

to think much of the Saviour, whom she promised her parents, when she left them, that "she would always remember." In this state she continued for a few weeks, and then expired. He who took little children in his arms and blessed them, received her, it is hoped, to be for ever with him. It is cheering to add, that two of the party of Cherokees, from whom she was obtained, have lately become followers of the Prince of Peace. They are fruits of a recent revival, and are now members of a Christian church. One of them, who could speak a little English, acted as interpreter in the interview with Mr. Cornelius. The other is the leader of the band, and the very person who went to his bag, and held up the two scalps. It is hoped he will be the means of much good to his people, among whom his influence is considerable. He is a man of much activity and enterprise, and would now, if qualified, go as a herald of salvation to the benighted Osages. His wife has been admitted into church fellowship, and one or two of their children are considered pious.

Probably few portions of the heathen world have been in circumstances more unfavourable to missionary labours, than this people. Their wandering and predatory habits render it exceedingly difficult for missionaries to have much intercourse with them; and what little instruction is communicated at any time is very soon forgotten, while they are engaged periodically in hunting and in war. Still the American Board of Commissioners has sent missionaries among them, by whom great exertions have been made.

The following is a conversation with Sans Nerf, a man about sixty years old, who had been ac-

quainted with white men about forty years; and who had visited St. Louis and the city of New York, and in both those places had been told something respecting the God of Christians.

Before that time, what did you hear about God? "I have formerly been taught to consider the sun, the moon, the earth, and the sky to be the principal gods." Who first told you about God? "The old men told me about him from my childhood." His ideas were confused respecting God's intercourse with men, but he believed the sun and moon are angry with men, and kill them; and of the requirements of God he knew nothing. Do you think often of your gods? "When a big brave dies, and when we want to go to war, we put mud upon our faces, and look to the sun and moon for success." Did you formerly pray to your gods, and what did you pray for? "The Osages put mud on their faces, and ask the ground, the sun, and moon, to help them to go to war, and for success. This is all they pray for." He appeared in total ignorance of the nature of sin; but, when asked on the subject, said, "All I desire was to kill; and if the enemy kills my son or nearest friend, it is all well: there is nothing wrong." Were you ever restrained from doing what you pleased, because you were afraid of displeasing God? "I never felt any restraint from the gods, but I sometimes thought they hated me, because I did not succeed in obtaining the objects which I desired." Did you think there would be another life after the present? "I believed that when the body was dead that was the end."

Similar questions were afterwards put to a man eighty years of age, who had known white men for

twenty years, but had never heard of a God or the Christian religion until the day before, when he came to the station and heard the missionaries preach.

By a treaty made with the government of the United States, in 1825, the Osages ceded those portions of their territory, in which the stations of Union and Harmony were situated, and retired forty or fifty miles from them. Boarding schools for their children were, however, continued at those stations; and a small band of Indians settled near each of them, for the purpose of receiving instruction and aid in agriculture and other arts. These were assisted to a considerable extent, they appeared pleased with their more regular and comfortable manner of living, became in some instances quite industrious, and gave serious attention to religious instruction. The following remarks were made by Mr. Dodge respecting those living near Harmony.

"The band of Indians have received orders from the agent to return to their country, which they will probably do between this and the coming spring. They have shown very clearly, by their labours, what they would do if they had means to do with, and some judicious person to direct them how to act. It is true, their crop of corn has been light the present year, by reason of the drought, which has been very pinching the latter part of the season: but they appear to be greatly encouraged by the advantages received from the little done for them the last spring. They seem to be determined not to go back to the old town, but to settle by themselves, and cultivate the ground. They have requested me to go and reside with them at the Neosho."

This, it may be remarked, was a band from that portion of the tribe called Little Osages, the most rude and savage part of the tribe. It consisted of forty or fifty families; and with the aid received from the mission, had enclosed and planted thirty acres of land. Two religious meetings were held among them on the sabbath, and much religious instruction was communicated at other times. Considerable numbers attended the meetings, and some appeared interested. The remarks which follow have reference to the tribe generally.

"We continue our efforts to instruct the people as far as we can gain access to them; but this is extremely limited. It is but few who hear about God, or the way of salvation by Christ. The great mass of the people are pressing their way blind-fold to ruin. That they should remain so ignorant, after so much time and treasure have been expended among them, may, perhaps, be no small source of discouragement to those who support missionaries in the field. But pray for the blessing of God upon these Osages. It may be he will hear your prayers, and will yet have mercy on the souls of this people: and if so, then the weaker the instruments employed among them, the more conspicuous will the majesty and glory of God appear in the work."

Mr. Pixley, in a letter dated 25th of December, 1829, thus gives his own views respecting the state and prospects of the mission among the Osages at that time.

"I never felt myself more at home among them than at present; I never had more of their confidence; and, indeed, never had higher hopes of eventual success. Some of the principal

men told me yesterday they would never more think so lightly of what I say to them. I see nothing to prevent the gospel taking as complete effect here, as at the Sandwich Islands, or elsewhere, when the communication shall be fully made, under circumstances calculated to inspire them with a belief of its truth. Two evenings since, I went into a lodge for the special purpose, as I often do, of trying to communicate something in order to enlighten their benighted minds. After talking awhile, at their request I sang a hymn of my own composing in their language, relative to the omniscience and omnipresence of God, as Judge of the world, and with respect to the future state of the righteous and the wicked. But what made the scene peculiarly pleasant was the fixed attention of two children between nine and twelve years old, who came from the other end of the lodge, and drawing close to me, listened with great interest, and seemed to understand and drink in all that I said. Dark and gloomy as this valley is, sometimes a ray of hope so shoots across my cheerless path, that, ungrateful and unworthy as I am, I should greatly add to these, if I did not acknowledge that my cup is mingled with consolations neither few nor small; and that the bitterest trials and self-denials of missionaries are more than made up to them, in the inward comfort and peace they are permitted to enjoy. It is no uncommon thing now to hear this people, when they smoke, call upon God to give them good thoughts, and lead them in the right-hand path, instead of asking for success in killing Pawnees and stealing horses: not that they have laid those aside, but it shows that what is said to them is taking root, and is

conversed about. Who would think it strange, if, in these days of God's working, this valley of dry bones should all at once begin to move? Indeed, I think it more likely I shall not be prepared for such an event, than that it will not come. God's promises are sure; but, alas, too often his people are not ready, waiting and prepared for their accomplishment."

By the removal westward of the Creeks and Cherokees of the Arkansas, the station at Union had those two tribes in addition to the Osages, within a short distance; so that children from each of them might be received into the school, and evangelical labours, in some measure, be extended to them all.

From accounts of a later date it appears, that at Union, two Creeks, members of the school, and two African labourers were admitted into the church. The missionaries had visited all the Osage villages, and preached the gospel to hundreds who never heard it before, and some listened with deep interest. A school at Union was very prosperous: a Sunday school, long kept up at this station, and an infant school, were also productive of good. Into the former, one hundred and thirty-four had been received. At Harmony there was also a common school, and a Sunday-school. In the year 1830, the girls manufactured one hundred and fifty-five yards of cloth, which was used in the mission family.

The Hopefield station, about four miles from Union, was commenced near the end of the year 1823. The number of families gradually increased. About thirty acres of land were fenced, and brought into a good state of cultivation, many comfortable

houses were erected, industry increased, hunting and war were almost entirely relinquished, and the people were convinced that this change in their condition and manner of living was for their good. No Osage man had been known before to engage in such labour. These things had hitherto been done by the women. Considering how thoroughly their roving and indolent habits were inwrought, and how dishonourable the men had always esteemed manual labour, their perseverance, success, and the general improvement which was manifest, surpassed expectation. When the new treaty was made with the Cherokees of the Arkansas, Hopefield fell within the Cherokee country, and it became necessary to remove to another place, which, though deferred for a year or two, was afterwards effected.

"The location of this station," Mr. Requa writes, "is on the same side of Grand River with Union, about twenty-five miles north of it. The land is good, and for an Indian settlement, perhaps a better place could not have been selected in this part of the country. Fifteen Indian families followed us up here, and others are expected here in the fall, to be permanent residents. The Indians have been very industrious since their arrival at this place; several of them have cleared, cultivated, and made rails sufficient to inclose four acres of land each, by joining their fields. All this labour has been well done, with very little assistance from me. The expectation that their residence here would be permanent, has given a spur to their industry, and rendered their labours pleasant to them. In fact, I have never known them so industrious, so cheerful in their labours,

and to behave so well in every respect, as since their removal. The chiefs and some of their principal men have taken no little pains to instruct the people of all classes in their duty. The chief has told them repeatedly, that as they have left their old place, they must, or he wanted them very much to leave also behind them all their bad conduct; and, as they have come to a new place and good land, they must adopt the new instructions, and listen to the good advice of the good white people among them. He has also exhorted them, more particularly, to renounce their quarrelling, backbiting, stealing, etc., entirely. This, together with the instructions they have received more directly from the word of God, has certainly produced very beneficial results; a very considerable reformation has been effected. They appear to be disposed to live in peace with each other. They attend more generally to the religious meetings held among them, and even take part in the exercises. The chief, in several instances, after I have addressed them from the word of God, has exhorted them earnestly to profit from what they had heard, to respect the word of God, to reverence the sabbath, and not to forsake the assembling of themselves together to receive instruction from their teacher. If the interest that the chief takes in our meetings sprung from the love of God shed abroad in the heart, I should rejoice the more; but I fear that the praise of men, or the desire of gaining the good opinion of the missionaries near us, is the true motive of action with him; nevertheless, good is done, and we ought to rejoice even in the day of small things.

“ Their reformation, in respect to stealing, is

worthy to be noticed. It is notorious, that the Osages are remarkable for stealing. But this people, since their residence here, though they have had many opportunities, have not taken clandestinely, to my knowledge, the least article. The chief, not long since, when on business at Union mission, in conversation with Mr. Vaill, told him, that he had left sticking in a log, at some distance from his house, a very valuable axe, and he expected to find it there when he returned; but remarked, at the same time, that if he had done so a year ago, he would never again have seen his axe. They begin to see that honesty is the best policy, and a thief is detested among them."

Since then a very painful change has taken place. The abandonment of their fields and lodges, the introduction of intoxicating liquors, and the influence of the traders preventing their adopting the habits of settled agricultural life, and leading them to give themselves more entirely to hunting, reduced the Osages to a state of poverty, dissipation, and wretchedness.

To the Creeks the gospel has been preached by the missionaries of the American Board. One of the chiefs invited Mr. Montgomery, that they might have this privilege. He thus forcibly expressed himself: "We wish you to come and preach the gospel among us; we consider that we have a right to whatever will improve our nation, and we think the gospel will do it." This was the address of the young General Chilly M'Intosh. Their agent, Colonel Brearley, had thought fit to forbid preaching, or any missionary operations in the Creek nation. "I was, therefore," says Mr. M., "led to walk circumspectly; and at length

succeeded. The whole number, who are seriously anxious for their souls, is more than a hundred. Half of them, it is hoped, are true converts. Some of the chiefs and whites have been violently opposed to the work of God among them, and threatened their slaves, and their wives, and daughters, with stripes, for attending meetings, and in some instances have inflicted them. But the good work still goes on." A church was afterwards formed among them ; and the interesting service is thus described :—

" The sabbath proved to be cold and rainy. We opened our morning exercises in the rain, and continued till Mr. Dodge had finished the first prayer, and it was interpreted. And even then, many were for continuing the service in the rain ; but fearing some would take cold who were thinly clad, we suspended the worship for one hour, and they resorted to their fires. Though they had no tents, yet scarcely any left the ground. When we found that the rain continued, we resorted to a couple of small cabins, and proceeded with our duties. In these cabins we were so crowded, that we were compelled to receive the communion standing, and held the elements in our hands, having no communion board but the stands where our saddles and baggage were laid ; yet the Lord granted us a sweet banquet with his lowly followers among the Creeks. Oh, what will it be above ! Had the weather favoured, a much larger number of persons would, no doubt, have been present on the sabbath ; but as it was, we had reason to thank God, and go on our way rejoicing, for all the things the Lord has done to build up his own kingdom, and for gathering in many precious souls among

this people. On Monday morning we left the Creek country with gladdened and revived spirits; and, returning to Union, related, at the monthly concert for prayer, the encouraging things which we had witnessed." Effort was afterwards made on behalf of this people, until their removal.

A station, called Monroe, was established by the Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, some years since, among the Chickasaws. Eighteen months were occupied in clearing land and erecting buildings. In 1823, about forty acres were under cultivation. A school had been established in the preceding year. The gospel was preached; and afterwards a revival in religion appears to have taken place. Wholesome laws were enacted, and, to the astonishment of the missionaries, strictly enforced. Whisky was banished from the country. A thief was punished with thirty-nine lashes, and compelled to return the stolen property, or what was equivalent. One hundred men, (twenty-five out of each district) were appointed to carry the laws into effect, and were paid by the nation.

"A few days since," says Mr. Holmes, in 1829, "I attended one of their councils. It is their custom to transact no business on the day they assemble, and that is the most suitable time to talk with them on religious subjects, as it does not interfere with their arrangements. I proposed to the chiefs to come together after supper, to which they cordially consented. The night was peculiarly pleasant: not a cloud was visible; and the light of a full moon was spread over the forest. One of the principal men published, with a loud voice, that we were going to give them a talk, and we were

gratified to find that all came, and seated themselves to hear. The chiefs occupied chairs, and the warriors sat, in a semicircular form, upon the grass. One of the head-men interpreted. After I had talked for some time, I asked W. H. Barr to follow me with some remarks. He did so, and continued to speak about three quarters of an hour; informing them, that it was by the Bible he was brought to be what he was; that formerly, he had gone to ball-plays, dances, and other places of amusement to which young people resort; but that by this good book he had been changed. He was in darkness once, but now, by the Spirit, he was in the light. He hoped his people would not continue in the old way, which was dark, and exhorted them to return. I have not yet witnessed such profound attention and good order at any Indian meeting. The exercises were closed with prayer; after which we expected they would immediately disperse, as they had been so long together, that we feared that their patience was exhausted; they, however, prolonged the meeting, and made several long speeches on what they had heard. About eleven o'clock we retired, leaving them still in council. The chiefs expressed themselves freely on the subject, and not one word of disapprobation was uttered.

"They were astonished and delighted to hear their child, as they called William, exhibit so much maturity of mind. The principal speaker said, 'When the missionaries came, I told you what they were going to do for us, and now you see for yourselves.' The opposition, which a few months since was so violent, has gradually disappeared; and if any now exists, it is latent."

An account of a meeting where Indian chiefs and warriors lay aside their savage character, and sit at the feet of Christ to hear his word, and celebrate his death, cannot but be interesting. It is thus given :—

“ Our religious council, or four days meeting, has been held, and we hope will prove to be the commencement of an important era in the history of our mission. In the evening before the day appointed, a considerable number had arrived, and among them some who had come sixty miles. At early candle-light our exercises commenced ; and, as we have no church edifice, we assembled in the woods under an arbour.

“ We had a plain pulpit, and seats sufficient for nearly a thousand people. Mr. Blair and Mr. Adams were with us at the commencement. On Friday morning, Messrs. Williams, Wood, and Caldwell arrived from the Choctaw nation. Also Major Levi Colbert, Capt. Sealy, and Capt. M’Gilvery, three of our principal chiefs, besides several other men of distinction, with their families. In the evening, Mr. Byington came, with two of the Choctaw converts, Tahoka and a neighbour. On Saturday the session convened, and seven persons were received into the church, three of whom were from the neighbourhood of Martyn. Four were Chickasaws, and three black people. On the sabbath, the memorials of Christ’s sufferings and death were set out in the view of the poor perishing heathen, and near a hundred of his professed followers were permitted to celebrate his dying love. It was delightful to see persons out of six different nations assembled together at the table of our common Lord, actuated by one

spirit, and animated with the same hope. Mr. Byington preached frequently, and was well understood. Tahoka exhorted and prayed with the greatest fervency, and his labours were evidently blessed of God. On sabbath afternoon, all who were in an anxious state of mind were asked to come forward and occupy seats provided for the purpose in front of the pulpit. About thirty presented themselves, the majority of whom were black people. The next morning we assembled at nine o'clock for our final meeting. A considerable number more came forward to the anxious seats. Among the number of inquirers we counted fifteen Chickasaws. We continued together two hours, during which time the Spirit of the Lord appeared especially near. The anxious then arose, and arranged themselves in a line; opposite to them, and about five yards distant, our church, now consisting of above seventy members, took their stand. The whole was concluded with prayer.

"During the meeting there was no extravagant feeling, bodily exercise, nor any confusion. It was a solemn and delightful season, and our hearts rejoice and bless God for what we have been permitted to see of his wonderful works among the heathen. Since the meeting, several new cases of awakening have come to our knowledge. The chiefs who were present, expressed their decided approbation of all they saw and heard. We have preached at the king's, to an attentive audience. For two weeks we have had a considerable accession to our meetings, and the number of those who do not understand English has become so great, that we generally have our discourse interpreted. We hold two conference meetings each week, one

for the Chickasaws, and the other for the black people. I have now an interpreter constantly employed.

"The professors of religion generally are very consistent, and some of them remarkably devoted. One, who is a Chickasaw, has exhibited the triumph of gracious principles under the most trying circumstances. She had an only daughter, about eight years of age, who sickened on Saturday, and was a corpse on the following Monday. None of her relatives were with her, until a few hours before the child's death ; and, indeed, no person thought her in a dangerous state until the dying agony commenced. 'When I announced to the mother,' says a missionary, 'that the child was dying, she submissively replied, The will of the Lord be done.' She talked of the dispensation with more apparent Christian resignation than I have yet witnessed in any land, and we have every evidence that it was sanctified to her. A few days after the child's decease, she remarked to me, that she thought she had more sensibly realized the preciousness of the Saviour during this affliction, than ever before. By the request of the family, the funeral service was conducted in a Christian manner. An appropriate sermon was preached at the house ; the coffin was then closed, and a procession formed. The clergyman went first, followed by the corpse, which was supported by four carriers. Then followed the parents of the deceased, the grandparents, near relatives, the children of the school, and neighbours, of whom there were a great number. At the grave the most perfect order was observed. No wailing was heard, nor any undue excitement of feeling. This we consider a great

triumph of the gospel over heathenism. From time immemorial, on such occasions, the Indian had exhibited by his wailing, dishevelling the hair, etc., how appalling death is to those who know not the gospel. This was the first instance in which a native was buried in a Christian manner.

"A black woman, who had been a consistent member of our church for more than a year, was also called about two months since into eternity. At the time of her decease, she was fifty miles from us, and had no Christian friend to administer to her the consolations of the gospel, and to receive from her dying lips her last testimony. We have only heard that, from the commencement of her sickness, she faithfully warned those around her to prepare for death."

Unhappily the Chickasaws were much agitated afterwards, by the apprehension of being compelled to leave their country. The extension of the laws of the state of Mississippi over them broke the force of their own, and led to the use of intoxicating liquors, which were before strictly excluded. Intemperance passed through the nation like an overwhelming tide, and threatened utter ruin.

For the benefit of the Ottawas, a mission in Ohio was specially designed by the Board of Commissioners. A chief, named Sasa, was so much pleased, on a visit to the school, that he said he should come and reside near the station, and send his children for instruction. He returned to Portage in order to prevail on all his party, consisting of ten or twelve families, to remove with him. A Sunday school was also established, and the gospel was preached. A mechanic worked at the station for about six weeks. When he arrived he

seemed extremely ignorant and thoughtless as to religion; but he soon manifested an inclination to read tracts and religious publications, and frequently conversed on serious subjects. He went away apparently impressed, and the missionaries heard nothing from him for a time, till, at length, accompanied by his wife, he paid them a visit. He appeared to be a new man. They were both rejoicing in hope. The simple tale of his wife was truly affecting; a family altar had been reared, and the house where discord had previously reigned, had become a Bethel.

Several years ago, the New York Missionary Society sent the Rev. E. Holmes on an exploratory mission to some of the north-western tribes of Indians. Having arrived among the Tuscaroras, near the falls of Niagara, he met with a very friendly reception. Before he left them, several of their sachems and warriors addressed a letter to the society, in which they implored their assistance and compassion in the following affecting strains: "Fathers and brothers, we should be very glad to have our father Holmes to live among us, or any other good man that you would send, to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant; we are poor. Now, fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Only two of our nation can read in the good book the Bible: we wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civilized and happy when we are gone, that they may understand the good speech better than we can. We feel much sorrow for our children. We ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us and our poor chil-

dren, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him; we will do all we can to make him happy."

After noticing the opposition which some of the Indians had shown to such benevolent attempts of the white people, and the abandonment of the scheme in consequence, they add, "We are sorry Indians have done so; we are afraid some of us shall do so too, and that the Great Spirit will be angry with us; and you, being discouraged, will stop and say, 'Let them alone; there is nothing to be done with Indians.'

"Fathers and brothers, hearken. We cry to you from the wilderness; our hearts ache, while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged; don't stop. Think, poor Indians must die, as well as white men. We pray you, therefore, never to give over, and leave poor Indians, but follow them in dark times; and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more." This expostulatory letter was signed by two sachems, and seven warrior chiefs.

On taking leave of the Tuscaroras, Mr. Holmes proceeded on his journey, and visited the Senecas, who resided at Buffaloe Greek. From them, however, he did not meet with a reception equally favourable. After he had, at their request, preached a sermon to them, the chiefs held a consultation on the subject of the mission; upon which Red Jacket, the second sachem, a cunning, artful man, rose and delivered a speech.

But though it was unfavourable, yet, Farmer's

brother, the chief sachem of the Senecas, offered to commit his grandson to the care of the New York Missionary Society, in order to be educated by them, in the hope he might afterwards be useful to his nation. This proof of confidence was the more extraordinary, as one of his grandsons, whom he had entrusted to the United States, had, instead of being advanced in useful knowledge, been totally ruined in respect of his morals; a circumstance which he depicted in strong and lively colours.

After Mr. Holmes' return to New York, his report being of so encouraging a nature, he was appointed as a missionary to the North-western Indians, particularly the Tuscaroras and the Senecas, near the falls of Niagara. In August, 1801, he accordingly returned to settle among them, and from the former he again met with the most favourable reception. They not only thankfully listened to his instructions, but expressed a desire that the whole of their nation, scattered through other parts of the country, might be collected together to that place, that they might be instructed in the gospel of Christ; and, indeed, he was not without hope, that a number of them had been brought to the saving knowledge of Divine truth. The legislature of the state of New York having appropriated a sum of money for the building of a church and school-house, they were accordingly erected, and found highly convenient for the purposes of the mission.

From the Senecas, Mr. Holmes' reception was less favourable. By secret artifice and open calumny, an Indian impostor, called the prophet of the Alleghany, had excited so formidable an oppo-

sition to him, that the sachems and chiefs referred the question to the warriors, whether he should be allowed to preach or not; and the warriors, in their turn, agreed to refer it to the prophet. Happily, however, this manœuvre was defeated, through the zeal and intrepidity of Mr. Holmes. In full council, he delivered his message with distinguished fervour and fidelity, setting before them, on the one hand, the rich mercies of God in Jesus Christ; and, on the other, the fearful judgments which they would incur, by their unbelief. This boldness appeared to produce the happiest effects. The progress of the delusion was arrested, and the prophet began to lose his credit. To this a quarrel between that impostor and a woman, whom they called a prophetess, contributed. She pretended to have been caught up into the third heavens, but the prophet refused to acknowledge her, and the contest put them both to shame. After some further consultation, the Indians returned Mr. Holmes the following answer: "We have taken time to deliberate. We have been embarrassed with doubts. We thought not proper to proceed hastily, lest, not having thoroughly weighed the proposal, we should do wrong, and have reason hereafter to repent of it." They then proceeded to express their willingness to listen to the gospel; and to desire that a school might be established among them. Indeed, Mr. Holmes enjoyed full tranquillity among them; and the mission appeared to be more firmly established than ever.

In December, 1803, Longboard, one of their chief warriors, passed through the city of New York, on his return from Washington, whither he

had gone to transact some business relative to the collection and civilization of his people. The directors of the society had a most agreeable interview with him, in the course of which he declared the resolution of the sachems, and of the rest of the nation, to maintain inviolable their friendship with the Missionary Society, and their attachment to the gospel, notwithstanding all the difficulties that might arise, and the machinations of their enemies. He promised to communicate an account of this interview to his nation; requested the prayers of the society for his safe journey home; begged them to sympathize with his weakness and ignorance, as it was but a short time since he had heard the voice of the Lord; and declared his hope, that, in the course of a few years, the whole of his nation would embrace the gospel.

But notwithstanding these warm professions of friendship, Longboard, on his return home, became the advocate of the impostors who possess so much influence over the credulous Indians, and the violent enemy of the mission. Conferences and councils were held with great solemnity, to decide on the question, whether they should give any further heed to the gospel, or revert to the religion of their forefathers. Longboard exerted his eloquence, his influence, and his address, in favour of their old superstition; and when he saw his cause, after open and full discussion, losing ground among the men, he very dexterously resolved to have the question referred to the judgment of the women. But even this expedient failed. With a modesty and magnanimity which he had not anticipated, they declined giving any opinion on the merits of the case; but reprobated a breach

of their agreement with the Missionary Society. At the same time, the providence of God so ordered, that a young Indian, who had received some education, and learned a trade at Albany, was present at this council. His candid and manly testimony to the truth of the gospel, to the purity of the views with which the mission was instituted, to the folly of the dreamers, and the danger of adhering to them, produced a powerful effect; and the whole dispute terminated in the triumph of truth, and the shame of its opposers.

In 1821, the mission was transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society, and, for a time, enjoyed considerable prosperity.

A considerable degree of civilization exists among the Senecas in the State of New York, which is, to a great extent, the result of missionary efforts. "The most of them, I believe," says Mr. Harris, of the American Board, "have ordinarily enough produce to carry them through the year: and many sell considerable quantities in the market; such as pork, cattle, corn, hay, potatoes, oats, peas, beans, wood, etc.; whereas, a few years ago, these same people, as a body, were nigh starvation a great part of the year. But in nothing, perhaps, is their civilization more apparent than in their style of building. Their log cabins and pole barns, half covered with bark, are now frequently exchanged for substantial, well-made houses, and barns. They have all the means of rendering themselves independent, where they have enough of energy and industry so to do. Of this, however, it is to be lamented that they have as yet so small a share. The spirit of

industry, we hope, is extending itself through the nation.

"The vice which is most destructive to these Indians, is drunkenness. I am happy to state, however, that several respectable chiefs, and others who have long been addicted to it, have reformed, in a very great degree, within a few years. One, who is regarded as the principal chief of this nation, was considered by all who knew him two years ago, to be an incurable drunkard. For about a year he is not known to have used any liquor, or, at least, so as to be overcome by it, in a single instance. He appears to have become quite serious; says he looks to God for help, and hopes sometimes that he has found it. He prays fervently in his family, mornings and evenings; and, I am told, is most earnest when he prays for the drunkards of his tribe. He is externally changed, and the Lord grant that it may be the index of inward purity. The reformation, in this particular, will apply to others of the chiefs also. Their example and warnings, and public expressions of penitence, have had a very happy effect in checking a vice so ruinous to Indians, particularly among the younger portion.

"The desertion of their wives and families was formerly the source of great and frequent mischief and distress among this people. It is now highly disreputable, and an instance is of very rare occurrence.

"I have consulted with some of the oldest and the most respectable men of the Senecas concerning their traditions, and find but little that will probably be very interesting. Their traditions respecting the Divine character and beings, either

good or evil, are so much mingled with fable, and partake so largely of the spirit of the marvellous, as to become disgustingly tedious. It is easy, however, to trace the influence of the Roman Catholic church upon the religious creed of the Indian ; as it is well known that the Catholics have, during the two last centuries, exerted themselves considerably to convert the six nations to their faith. The uninstructed Indian's idea of hell is purgatory outright. On this account, it is the more difficult to ascertain with precision what ideas, in their religious opinions, are purely Indian.

" The ages of the old men who were consulted, all respectable chiefs, are, severally, eighty-one, sixty-four, fifty-seven, and fifty-five. These men state, that the first attempt they know to have been made to teach their people the gospel of Christ, was by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, about sixty-five or seventy years ago. He remained with them at their village, (now Geneva,) near two years; had begun to excite some attention among the Indians, and had opened a school for the instruction of their children, when the person with whom Mr. Kirkland lived, of whose hospitality he had always faithfully shared, suddenly fell down dead. The superstition of the Indians was such, at that time, as to lead them to account for this man's sudden death, on the supposition, that it was a judgment of Heaven on the person for harbouring some wicked person ; and they soon after passed a resolution that he, Mr. K., be expelled the village. He was afterwards accepted by the Oneidas. This was about the first of their intercourse with the whites, as far as they can trace back.

"The attempt that proved most successful in doing away their prejudices, was made by Mr. Hyde, who came to them in the capacity of a teacher. The minister appointed to labour with him, they refused.

"By means of these several attempts, their attention was gradually called to the importance of the Christian religion. Before this, they regarded God as no other than a man ; a person of similar appearance and disposition to themselves. They supposed him good-looking, and always naked, well painted, having pieces of dog-skin around each leg and each arm, and blankets of dog-skin around his shoulders. This being they were in the habit of invoking twice a year : once early in the fall, and again in the latter part of the winter. At the latter season, the great yearly sacrifice of the white dog was made.

At Mackinaw, a mission was established by the American Board. This island is the centre of the fur trade, and thousands of Indians flock together there, to barter what they have for the other commodities. From early in the spring, until the close of navigation in the fall, numerous bands of them collect on the shores ; and sometimes there are from one to two thousand at once in their encampments.

## CHAPTER XII.

*The Red River settlement—Baptism and marriage—Anticipation of good—Visit to Fort Churchill—Indian family—Symbolical figures—The Esquimaux—Superstition—First communicant—Schools—Severe privation—Pleasing facts—Bishop of Montreal's visit—The Chippeways—Kahkewaquonaby's addresses—Upper Canada—American Baptist Board—Western Indians—Visit to a village—Wretchedness and superstition—Interesting boys, Conanda and Soswa—The Chief Noon-day—Present condition of the various tribes—Individual obligation, in reference to the heathen and unbelieving at home.*

A MISSION appears to have originated at the suggestion of the Rev. John West, who, in 1820, arrived as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, at their settlement on the Red River. At this place there was an unfinished building, intended for a Roman Catholic church, with an adjoining house for the residence of the priest, but no Protestant church or school-house. Mr. West, therefore, took up his abode at the colony fort. Here he performed Divine service every sabbath day, and his ministry was generally well attended. Sometimes considerable impression appears to have been produced. One individual, who had not been in a place of worship since he left England, a period of thirty years, described the first day of his attendance as the happiest of his life. Several marriages were also solemnized, some adults, principally half-breeds. The children of

European fathers and Indian mothers were baptized, and a school was commenced.

"As I was returning, one evening, from visiting some of the settlers, about nine or ten miles below, the lengthened shadows of the setting sun cast upon our buildings, and the consideration that there was now a landmark of Christianity in this wild waste, and an asylum open for the instruction and maintenance of Indian children, raised the most agreeable sensations in my mind, and led me into a train of thought which awakened a hope, that, in the Divine compassion of the Saviour, it might be the means of raising a spiritual temple in this wilderness to the honour of his name. In the present state of the people, I consider it no small point gained to have formed a religious establishment. The outward walls, even, and the spire of the church, cannot fail of producing some effect on the minds of a wandering people, and of the population of the settlement."

It appears that, during winter, the severity of the weather sometimes precluded the settlers from assembling for the purpose of Divine worship; but, from the beginning of March till about the middle of June, the congregation consisted, on an average, of from one hundred to a hundred and thirty persons. The sabbath afternoons were devoted to the gratuitous instruction of all who chose regularly to attend; and, on these occasions, there were generally forty or fifty scholars present, including some Indian women married to Europeans, besides the Indian children on the missionary establishment.

After various labours, Mr. West preached a farewell sermon to a crowded congregation, and

having administered the Lord's supper to those who fervently joined with him in praying for the Divine blessing to rest upon the missionary who should officiate during his absence, he parted from his flock and the members of the missionary establishment with tears. "It had been," says he, "a long, and anxious, and arduous scene of labour to me; and my hope was, as about to embark for England, that I might return to the settlement, and be the means of effecting a better order of things."

Almost immediately after reaching York Factory, Mr. West made arrangements for visiting the Esquimaux Indians at Fort Churchill, the most northern post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. Captain Franklin had suggested the expediency of walking from York Fort to that factory, as the passage in a canoe might be long delayed by the immense quantities of ice floating in the bay. Mr. W., therefore, resolved, notwithstanding the distance, to adopt this plan, and having engaged one of the company's servants, with an Indian hunter, they set out in company with two Indians, who happened to be returning to Churchill.

On the travellers fording the Broad River, they saw, at a short distance from its banks, the smoke of an Indian tent, to which they directed their steps. The family, who were upon a hunting excursion, were clothed in deer skins, and the man, who appeared to be a half-breed, stated, that though he was now leading an Indian life, his father had been formerly a master at one of the company's posts. He also expressed his willingness to accompany Mr. West to the factory.; but

as his two sons were gone out in pursuit of a deer, he said he must leave some directions for them on their return. Accordingly, having prepared a broad piece of wood with his axe, he sketched out several figures, to denote the party with whom he had set out, and by a curved line appended to these, intimated that they were to follow. "We then proceeded," says Mr. West, "after the wife had put some kettles upon the back of a miserable-looking dog, and had taken her accustomed burden, the tent, with some other articles, on her own shoulders. The little ones were, also, severally laden with a knapsack, and the whole had the appearance of a camp of gipsies moving through the country."

Before the tents were struck the next morning, the hieroglyphics which the old man had left upon the piece of wood brought his two sons, whom he had left hunting, and who had walked the greater part of the night, in order to overtake their family. It seems that the Indians are in the habit of painting symbolical figures, such as those to which we have alluded, on the dressed skins of buffaloes or other animals, and some of these are occasionally bartered at the company's stations. They thus represent the achievement of a victory in war, by sketching out a picture of the successful chief, with the distinguishing mark of his nation, and by rudely delineating the warriors who accompanied him; whilst a number of little figures denote how many prisoners were taken, and so many headless bodies denote the number of those who were slain.

On the arrival of the party at Fort Churchill, which they reached on the morning of the 21st,

an Esquimaux, named Augustus, who had accompanied Captain Franklin to the shores of the Polar Sea, came out to meet them, and expressed much delight on ascertaining that Mr. West had undertaken such a journey for the purpose of visiting his tribe, who were expected to arrive, within a few days, at the factory. He had not seen his countrymen since he had acted as one of the guides in the northern land expedition, but intended to return with them to his wife and family, laden with the presents and rewards which he had received for his faithful services. "On the 25th," says Mr. W., "the servants of the company, with the officers, assembled for Divine service; and laborious as is the office of a missionary, I felt delighted with its engagements; and thought it a high privilege even to visit the wild inhabitants of the rocks, with the simple design of extending the Redeemer's kingdom among them; and that in a remote quarter of the globe, where probably no Protestant minister had ever placed his foot before.

"The next day, a northern Indian leader came to the fort, with his family; and upon making known to him the object of my journey, he cheerfully promised to give up one of his boys, a lively active little fellow, to be educated at the native school establishment at the Red River. He appeared very desirous of having his son taught more than the Indians know, and assisted me in obtaining an orphan boy from a widow woman, who was in a tent at a short distance, to accompany his son. I told him that they must go a long way, (Churchill being about a thousand miles distant from the colony,) but that they would be

taken great care of. He made no objection; but said they should go, and that they might return when they had learned enough. This was a striking instance of the confidence of an Indian, and confirmed the opinion that they would part with their children to those in whom they thought they could confide, and to whose tuition they felt persuaded they could safely entrust them. The company's boats were now going to York Factory, and would take them there; and as on my return thither I expected to meet my successor, on his arrival from England, he would take them under his care, in continuing the voyage to the school.'

For some days past, Augustus had been in the habit of visiting the ruins of the old factory, about five miles beyond the company's present establishment, in anxious expectation that his countrymen would arrive by the way of the coast, in their seal-skin canoes; and one morning he stated, on his return, that there was an Esquimaux family tented by the shore, under one of the rocks. "The next day, therefore," says Mr. West, "I accompanied him to the spot, with an interpreter, and was much pleased at seeing the family living in the exercise of social affection. The Esquimaux treated his wife with kindness, and there was a constant smile upon her countenance, very opposite to the oppressed and dejected look of the Indian women in general.

Above fifty miles north of Fort Churchill, Mr. West visited another tribe of Esquimaux, who are in the habit of traversing the coast in the neighbourhood of Knapp's Bay. "We pitched our tent with them," says he, "for two days; and I never knew Indians behave so orderly as they did. They

partook of their meals with great cordiality and cheerfulness ; and never came into my tent without being asked. To seven of the oldest men among them I repeated the questions which I had put to the others ; and they all appeared overjoyed with the expectation of having a white man among them to make house, and teach their children ; promising to furnish him with provisions, and not to steal. I gave to each of these, also, a knife, with a portion of tobacco, and some beads to take to their wives.

“ In parting with these Indians, to return to Fort Churchill, I felt a lively interest for their eternal welfare ; and shall greatly rejoice if any plan can be devised to accomplish the object of educating their children. They are an interesting race of people, and appear to me to present a fine field for missionary labour, with the hope of much success.”

In returning from this excursion to the factory, he observes, that he had to proceed along a coast the most dangerous to navigate that can be conceived ; from the water being studded with fragments of rocks, for miles from the shore, and which are only visible at the reflux of the tide.

On his journey he came to a tent of Indians, who were encamped on the shore for the purpose of killing bears ; and, in front of the little encampment, he observed the head of one of these animals, which had been recently shot, placed upon some pointed sticks, in expression of some superstitious notions. It seems that these people have a great dread of bears, and are in the habit of wearing necklaces formed of their claws, as amulets or charms to preserve them from their fero-

cious attacks. "A short time before I left the Red River colony," Mr. West says, "an Indian came to my residence with a necklace strung with some large claws; and, being induced to part with it for some tobacco, he addressed it in a very grave speech, when he took it from his neck, and laid it for me on the table, in language to the following effect:—' My grandfather! you and I have been together some time; but we must now part. Go to that chief, and, in leaving me, be not angry, but let me kill buffalo when I am hungry, and another bear when I meet with it; and then I will make another necklace of the claws.' I smiled at this address; when, looking at me very seriously, he said, ' If you offend the bear,' (meaning, I suppose, the spirit of the animal whose claws he had given me,) ' the bears will be sure to eat you.'

Two days after this occurrence, Mr. West arrived in safety at York Factory, after having walked, on his return, the supposed distance of one hundred and eighty miles, through a trackless country, abounding in swamps and long grass, and dreadfully infested, in many parts, with mosquitoes. Here he had the pleasure of meeting with the Rev. David Jones, who had arrived from England three days before, in his way to the Red River settlement, and with whom a conference was now held on the concerns of the mission. After a few days, Mr. West sailed for his native country, and Mr. Jones proceeded, with the two Indian boys who had been placed under Mr. West's protection, to his place of destination, where he arrived on the 14th of October, after a tedious passage, occasioned by what is termed a head wind on the lake.

In the midst of much outward distress, it appears, the labours of himself and Mr. Cockran, who afterwards arrived, have been attended by many encouraging circumstances.

"I have had," says Mr. Jones, in Dec. 1825, "several conversations with a female native Indian of this colony, in regard to her partaking the Lord's supper. She has been most assiduous in the use of the means for a long time; and her knowledge of Divine things has been increasing so rapidly, as to become a striking proof of the gracious and efficient teaching of the Holy Spirit. She came to-day again, with her half-breed daughter, who is also determined to forsake the world, and follow Christ. I could not help shedding tears of joy at this additional proof of Divine approbation afforded to my labours. This is the first real Indian who has become a communicant.

The missionaries in various parts of the world, may appropriately adopt the language of the apostle: "These hands have ministered to my necessities." At the same time great advantages accrue to the objects of their care. Of this Mr. Cockran, indefatigable in reference to temporal and spiritual things, furnishes an interesting proof. "The grist mill," he says, "is the most conspicuous mark of civilization that we have planted in this rude waste, and its beneficial effect is strikingly felt by the savage. He seems all at once stimulated to develope a new character. On the blowing of the wind, he is out with his wheat to winnow, gets it into his bag, runs to the mill, and stands in eager expectation of his turn. When once it is in the hopper, and the stones at work,

he handles it as it falls into the box, to see if it be well ground. I thought it scarcely possible so to rouse the Indian's drowsy powers."

The death of Mrs. Jones excited in the bosoms of many unusual feeling. "Our Christian brethren," observes Mr. Cockran, "have shown a degree of sympathy and sensibility, that I did not know they possessed. I have seen the tenderest cords of their nature touched and snapped asunder; but I never saw their grief so heavy, nor their tears so abundant, as for the loss of our departed friend. They say: 'Our crops have been smitten with the frost; our supplies were cut off by the non-arrival of the ships: seed-time and harvest will come again; a new summer may bring another ship; but Mrs. Jones will never return!'

"We never see a concourse of people, except at church. In England, I have often said with astonishment, 'What! so many in the market, and so few in the church!' Here it is the reverse: on week-days, you may travel for miles, and not see a human face; but on Sundays, when you draw near the church at the hour of prayer, the track is covered with old, and young, and middle-aged, pressing forward to the house of God. When you enter, and glance at a congregation waiting to join in singing the praises of God, you say, with astonishment, 'This is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes.'"

On a funeral occasion, Mr. Cockran considered it a convenient season to introduce the subject of building a church at the Indian settlement, by showing the number of families established, of day and Sunday scholars, of attendants on the Sabbath

service, of children and adults baptized, of the couples married and leading orderly lives; and exhorted those assembled to show their willingness to assist the heathen, and to bear in mind that they had the claim of brethren. A subscription being opened, every person cast in his mite; such as they had, they gave freely: many cast in much, for their circumstances: they contributed wheat, barley, potatoes, labour, and dry meat, to the amount of twenty-eight pounds sterling.

In 1839, the Rev. D. Jones left—in consequence of failure of health—the mission, and returned to England. The affectionate regard which the Indians showed him on his departure, was most touching, and gave a very satisfactory evidence of the sense which they entertained of the value of his care for them, and of the instruction which they had received from him.

In June, 1844, the Bishop of Montreal visited the Red River settlement, and his visit, according to the '*Montreal Herald*,' was of the most interesting description; and it is with the highest possible satisfaction, and the deepest thankfulness, that he was able to bear testimony to the labours of the Church Missionaries in that quarter. There are four good churches under their charge; some of which, however, afford very insufficient accommodation for the congregations. One of these is purely Indian: the others are composed of whites and half-breeds, with a sprinkling of Indians, the half-breeds greatly predominating.

In Canada, the Wesleyan Missionary Society has several stations. One of the fruits of their labours among the Chippeways, named Kahkewaquonaby, has visited this country, and addressed

many public meetings. His first address, which was delivered at the Wesleyan anniversary in London, is subjoined.

" My Christian brothers and sisters, I shake hands with you all this day in my heart. I feel, my Christian friends, that your God, whom you have been worshipping and talking about this day, is my God also. I feel that the same religion which warms your hearts and makes you glad, warms my heart and makes me glad also. I am come a great way, my white brothers and sisters : I am come from over the great waters, from the wilderness of America. I come at the request of my brothers and sisters in that land who love the Great Spirit, to shake hands with you, and to see what God is doing among you. I feel very glad in my heart that God has preserved me, and brought me here to see your faces. You are all strangers to me, that is, I mean, personally ; but you are not strangers to me in the religion of Christ. I have the same hope that you have ; the same hope that, when my body falls to the ground, I shall go to the Lord Jesus Christ : and I hope I shall see all my brothers and sisters in the kingdom of God.

" Suffer me to tell you, that the Lord hath done great things for poor Indians in the wilds of Upper Canada, in America. The poor Indians have been long time sitting in darkness, and praying to the sun and moon, and many other things that are no gods; not seeing the good things that you see; not enjoying the good things that you enjoy, and that have done you so much good. But, through the labours of good men, good methodist people, who came to us at Credit River, and

pointed out to us the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world, these poor Indian people, who are the remnant of a once powerful nation, were made to rejoice in good tidings, and brought to tread in the ways of God. Before this time we knew nothing of the Great Spirit; we knew that there was a Great Spirit, but we did not know him aright: we did not pray to the Great Spirit aright: we did not know how to worship him aright: we did not come to him by Jesus Christ. But, about eight years ago, some missionary people, with the word of God in their hands, and with the Holy Spirit in their hearts, came to us, and sat down by our wigwams, and told us what Jesus Christ had done for us, and how he died for poor Indians as well as for white people; and that if we would go to him, he would have mercy upon us. These things that they told us about our sins, made us at first very sorry; but many went to the Great Spirit, and he had mercy on them, and took the sickness away from their hearts, and made them to rejoice very much, and gave them a good hope of going to heaven above.

"Since I have been hearing these good brethren talk about missionary efforts, and what God has done for men, and for the places where the black people live, I have said in my heart, 'God bless you, and bless all you do for the poor heathen, and in the cause of missions!' I have no doubt you feel glad in your hearts that you have been the means, in the hands of God, of saving some poor people from destruction. And now you see before your eyes the effects of the preaching of the gospel of Christ. In my early days, I was brought up a heathen: I was taught to run

in the woods, to handle the bow, and to hunt the game: I was taught to worship the heathen gods. But, about eight years ago, I was led to attend a methodist meeting: I understood a little English; and, when I heard the minister, I thought he was speaking to me all the time, and telling me all my sins that I had committed. Then I began to be very sorry in my heart: I was made to fall down on my knees: I prayed to God almost all the night; and, just as daylight came, God spoke peace to my heart. Oh what joy came into me then! Then I remembered my poor relations, and my poor countrymen; and, with tears in my eyes, I went and told them what God had done for my soul. And then they began to weep also, and to call on the Great Spirit; and we worshipped him together. And soon the whole tribe of my people all fell down and worshipped the Great Spirit in the name of Jesus Christ. And this good work is going on hundreds of miles back in the wilderness: where no white man is, the voice of prayer and of praise is heard from poor Indians, made to rejoice in the knowledge of Jesus Christ by his gospel.

"I thank you, Christian friends, that you have sent missionaries; and I thank God that he has blessed you in this great cause. I have a great deal to say; but I have travelled all the night, and have not slept any on the way, so I do not feel as if I could say a great deal now. But let me tell you, brothers and sisters, we were in a miserable state before we found Jesus. We roved about from place to place; we had no village, no good houses, no sheep, no oxen, none of these good things: but, when we got Jesus Christ, we began

to desire these good things ; and, as soon as the Lord visited our souls, we got societies, and we built log-houses, and we formed villages, and we got sheep and oxen, and we began to enjoy the comforts of life. And let me tell you, Christian friends, that, in order to do good to poor Indians, you must take them religion. Some men tried to convert them by making them farmers, and giving them oxen and ploughs, without the religion of Christ : this has never succeeded among Indians. But when their hearts are made sensible that they are sinners, and when they find that Jesus Christ the Son of God died for Indians as well as for white men, then they are prepared to be civilized, and to have all the comforts of life. Before this, they will not ; but, like the deer in the woods, they wish to rove about : they must get Christ first, and then they will wish for all these things.

" My Christian friends, I find that the religion of Christ is the same all over the world : the same love, the same happy feelings I have felt here this afternoon, I have also felt in the wilderness of America : I have the same love in my heart here and there. Some people in Canada tell us we are deceived ; they say, ' How can we know that God is ours ? How can we have him in our hearts ? How can we feel happy in religion ? It must be all delusion and fancy.' But I say, ' If this be a delusion, it is a happy delusion : let me be deluded this way, if I may be happy here and then go to heaven ! '

" I shake hands with you, my brethren and sisters in Christ Jesus. This is all I have to say to you at present."

At a meeting of the Religious Tract Society, he said :—

"It makes the heart of the poor Indian rejoice to see his child read in a book: to see him put the talk upon a paper, and to see the talk go to a distance, that makes him to rejoice. I will give you one instance. At the River Credit we have a station. A chief had a son who was instructed in our mission school; after, he was employed as a teacher in another school, and went away more than a hundred miles from his father; after a time, he wrote a letter to his father in the Indian tongue, which he did not know how to read: the father brought it to me, to read it for him; and, while I read, the tears ran down his eyes, and he rejoiced to hear the talk of his son on the paper at a distance, and he blessed and praised God that his son had been instructed in reading and writing.

"I will now tell you of the goodness of God in making some conversions to my own knowledge. There was a son of a chief who resided with us, and whose name was Chichinaw, which, being translated, means 'Big Canoe.' His father lived at the back of the lakes upon the Huron, and was a heathen. Big Canoe became a convert; and, about two years ago, accompanied me on a journey to the part of the country where his people dwelt. We saw his father, and conversed with him; and he said, 'I accept your words, and will pray to the Great Spirit.' Having stayed a day and a half, I left the settlement; but Big Canoe remained, to complete the conversion of his father. In two months afterward I saw him again, and asked how he had succeeded with his people; and

he said they had been all turned to the Great Spirit, and were all worshipping him in their hearts : he had been allowed no rest, so desirous were the people of being taught ; but he told them, he himself knew little more than his A B C. They wished him to tell them that, but he had no book : at last he thought of going into the woods, and taking the birch-bark, which is perfectly white, he wrote the letters of the alphabet upon it with a piece of burned stick ; and thus taught the people. I will state only one case more. In coming to this country, I passed through a white settlement on my way to New York : the people were very bad and wicked : I heard two men swearing : I went to one of them, and put a little tract of this Society's, called 'The Swearer's Prayer,' into his hands, and then went away : in a few months afterward I heard, from the clergyman of the place, that these men had been converted, and turned to God."

Many Indian villages in the province of Upper Canada, are under the care of the Wesleyan missionaries. In their personal conduct and social state, they furnish the most pleasing evidence of the power of the gospel. They are attentive to all the means of grace, and, in a very exemplary manner, keep holy the Lord's day. Their piety is combined with industry, kindness, sobriety, and cleanliness. The houses, in some of the settlements, resemble neat English cottages ; and the proficiency which some of the Indians have made in agriculture and other useful arts, is highly satisfactory.

The American Baptist Board have been engaged in missionary work, among the western

Indians, for many years. They commenced at St. Louis, where a Christian church was soon formed, and schools were established. The first evening, Mr. Peck preached at St. Charles, on the Missouri River, about twenty miles distant. A notoriously wicked negro was brought to Christ, a circumstance which produced a great awakening. Among the number of those seriously impressed, were two slaves, the property of a French Catholic family. When they asked the consent of their mistress to be baptized, she put them off, being ignorant of the design of the ordinance; and on explaining it to her, as well as they could, she still objected, fearing they might be injured; and inquired, if they should be, where she should obtain compensation.

Several missionary stations now arose; and to two were given the names of the first Baptist missionaries, Carey and Thomas. Mr. M'Coy greatly exerted himself, frequently made excursions to the Indian settlements, and preached to as many as he could assemble, besides calling at the wigwams, for the purpose of religious conversation. He had a scholar, named Abram, who often accompanied him as an interpreter. About a year after he settled at Fort Wayne, he visited a large Indian village, when the chief came out to meet him, followed by a long train of his people, who all expressed much pleasure at the circumstance. He was conducted to the chief's house, or little hut—for all the people lived in small cabins, made of birch bark and slight poles; and wherever he afterwards called, the place was crowded to excess. When the Indians saw that he felt uncomfortable, they swept the ground, and spread a mat for him

to sit or lie upon out of doors ; and all seemed desirous of showing him attention. The visit had been long promised, and the chief had begun to fear disappointment, as Mr. M'Coy had told him he would come when the grass had reached a certain height ; and, after daily measuring it, and finding it had done so, his anxieties increased. At the close of the visit, many affecting appeals were made, that he would " come and live with them, and tell his whole mind respecting religion ;" and the attention and solemnity manifested, were surprising and encouraging.

Great privations were the lot of those who laboured in this part of the missionary field ; but these did not diminish their ardour. The necessities and superstitions of many around them were great and affecting. Some of the scholars of the mission-school stated, on one occasion, that their grandmother was ill, a little way off ; and, on Mr. and Mrs. M'Coy walking to the place described, they found that the poor old woman, who was lying on the bare ground, and covered over with a piece of old blanket, had just ceased to breathe. Several persons were lying about her, in the last stage of intoxication ; and her children and others were lounging around, in all the misery of want and wickedness. The weather had been cold, rainy, and snowy for several days, and she had lain on the cold, wet ground, through it all, in a most filthy state of body, without a tent, or even a covering of bark. The whole company were, indeed, equally destitute of shelter, except that afforded by one piece of tent-cloth, which was raised over two or three of them. Scarcely a handful of coals was to be seen in the whole encampment.

The only food discovered, was part of the carcass of a dog, which was hanging from the limb of a tree.

Tools having been procured, and a grave made, they tied the body to a pole with many thongs of bark or skins, and, placing a cross pole under the shoulders of the corpse, four men carried it to the grave, and lowered it down, when one of the relations stood at the head of the grave, and, dropping a piece of tobacco, said, "Grandmother, I give you a piece of tobacco to smoke, that you may rest quietly in your grave, and not disturb us who are alive. This is all I have to give you. We will all smoke for you. Grandmother, I now bid you farewell!" After this was done, the grave was filled, and a fire kindled at the head and foot of it; the whole party then returned to the camp, to finish the funereal rites, by drinking and carousing.

Many Indians, who occasionally met with the missionaries, were desirous of instruction, and some advantages were derived from this intercourse. One boy said, with tears in his eyes: "I have, many a time, thought what a good thing it was that I became acquainted with the mission! My father never gave me any good advice. If I had not found you, I should now be a wild Indian." Two boys, named Conanda and Soswa, were intended to practise the healing art; and the latter, when, on one occasion alone with Mr. M'Coy, told him how pleasant the thought was of studying medicine. "We wish," said he, "to learn everything you think we ought to learn; and we wish to learn to be good too. Soon after you told us you would send us to some place to learn to be doctors, I

said to Conanda : " Well, now our friends (the missionaries) are very kind to us, and we must do as they tell us. They tell us to be good, and now we must try to be good." Conanda say, ' Well, I am willing.' I say, ' Now we must try to pray ;' and Conanda say, he was agreed. So every night we pray. If we see one another, then we go out in the wood together ; and one time I pray, and the next time Conanda pray, the same as you do in the family. If we do not see one another, then I go and pray by myself, and Conanda pray by himself. I try to pray one time in English, but I could not say many words, because I did not understand English very well. Then I say to Conanda, ' Well, we pray in Indian, because God can hear Indian talk, the same as he hear English ; then we always pray in Indian. The first time I pray, I feel afraid ; I think somebody see me ; and Conanda say he feel so too, the first time he pray. Now we don't feel so. Conanda and I talk very much about being good. We talk about it to-day, as we come along the road."

Another cheering circumstance occurred, at the great meeting of the Miami and Putawatomy tribes. A day was appointed for a council to meet ; and, at an early hour, it was fully attended. Mr. M'Coy stated his plans, wishes, and prospects ; and that, as he had now come to live with them, all would be done that he had promised. A chief, named Noon-day, replied : " I remember your promises to us ; I have forgot nothing. You told us you would help us to build houses, make fences, plough, and the like ; besides giving us a blacksmith, a school, and a preacher. We have seen the beginning of what you pro-

mised ; we are all now rejoiced that you are come to live amongst us, in the hope that we shall realize the whole. You have told us to be good ; and now I tell you, that, ever since you first talked to me about God, I have been trying to be good ; and have often endeavoured to persuade others of my people to be good also." Other chiefs spoke, expressing unlimited confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the missionaries. Reports, of the most base and malignant kind, were circulated by the whites ; but, notwithstanding this, the mission was, for a time, prosperous.

Latterly, clouds gathered over it, from the encroachment of white settlers, and the debasing influence of the traders in whisky ; but the prospect is becoming more encouraging.

An Indian academy was established by the Baptists, at Kentucky, in 1819 ; and other efforts for the welfare of the people have been made.

In bringing to a close these various details, there is much presented to the mind which is exceedingly painful. Out of many millions of Indians, once occupying the country, there are scarcely half a million left. Many of the tribes are quite extirpated, and others are fearfully reduced in numbers.

The decree of Congress to expel all the Indians that remained on the States was so strictly enforced, that in the course of a few years, out of one hundred thousand Indians, who were compelled to emigrate, no fewer than eighty-one thousand had departed to settle in the deep forests beyond the Mississippi. Emigration has since gone forward, and it is reckoned that not more than about five thousand Indians continue in the State of New

York, where they have acquired, and still possess, landed property. These are remnants of several of the tribes, among whom the course of missionary labour has been traced. Scarcely any Indians are to be found in the other States, from the emigration of their respective tribes.

To the expelled tribes, however, one province has been conceded, where they are to live in independence of the United States. It consists of what are now called the Osage and Ozark districts, beyond the States of Arkansas and Missouri. Here the remains of many tribes are found. Among some of them missionary efforts are still made. Places of worship have been erected, and agriculture and manufactures are making progress.

The least disposed to receive the gospel, and its attendant blessings of civilisation, are the Osages, beyond the Arkansas river; the Cherokees, who are settled to the south of them, have made greater progress than any other Indian tribe. Among them the missionary labours, which were broken up by the emigration of the Cherokees, have been renewed. The condition of the people is still promising.

The Creeks dwell south of the Cherokees on the Canadian river; the Choctaws inhabit the banks of the Red River, with the Chickasaws, their kindred tribe. They are still the objects of missionary care.

In reviewing this portion of the records of missionary character, labours, trials, and successes, there is one truth, among many, on which the reader's mind ought assuredly to fasten; namely, the solemn obligation that lies on him, or her, whatever be the talents entrusted to their care, to

engage in the diffusion of the gospel; and not only so, but to consecrate to it their utmost energies. The remarks on this subject, in a recent and valuable work,\* demand the serious and constant regard of every disciple of Christ. The very diversity of qualification, temperaments, and conditions existing in the church, is a striking proof that it is the duty of all to be engaged in the missionary business of the church. We may apply to this matter, in the most direct form of legitimate and literal application, the language of an apostle :† “There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many, are one body: so also is Christ. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.” On one man, there comes down a baptism of the Spirit and of fire, and, amid his deep musings, all nature seems to echo a voice speaking to his heart, “Whom shall I send? Who will go?” The forms of men in a distant region crowd his daily thoughts, haunt his nightly dreams, beckon him away from friends, and family, and country, laying down his life at the bidding of his Lord. To another is committed, as a sacred trust, commanding influence in his own community. Another is invested with office in the church, with wisdom and learning, with genius and reputation; all bestowed on him under the same responsibility, and for the same end. While to millions is given, in larger or smaller propor-

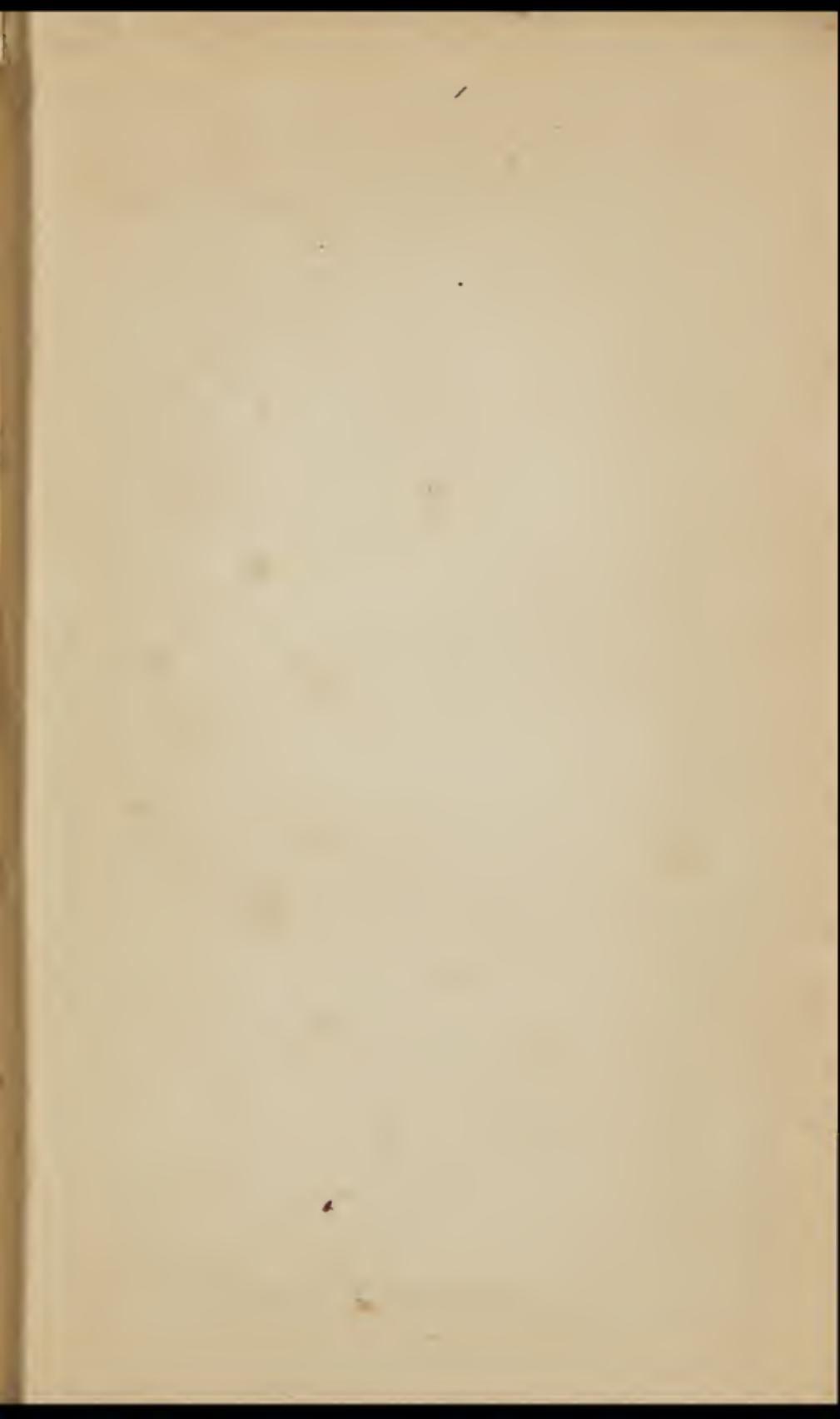
\* Stowell's Missionary Church.

† See the whole of 1 Cor. xii., and Eph. iv. 7—10.

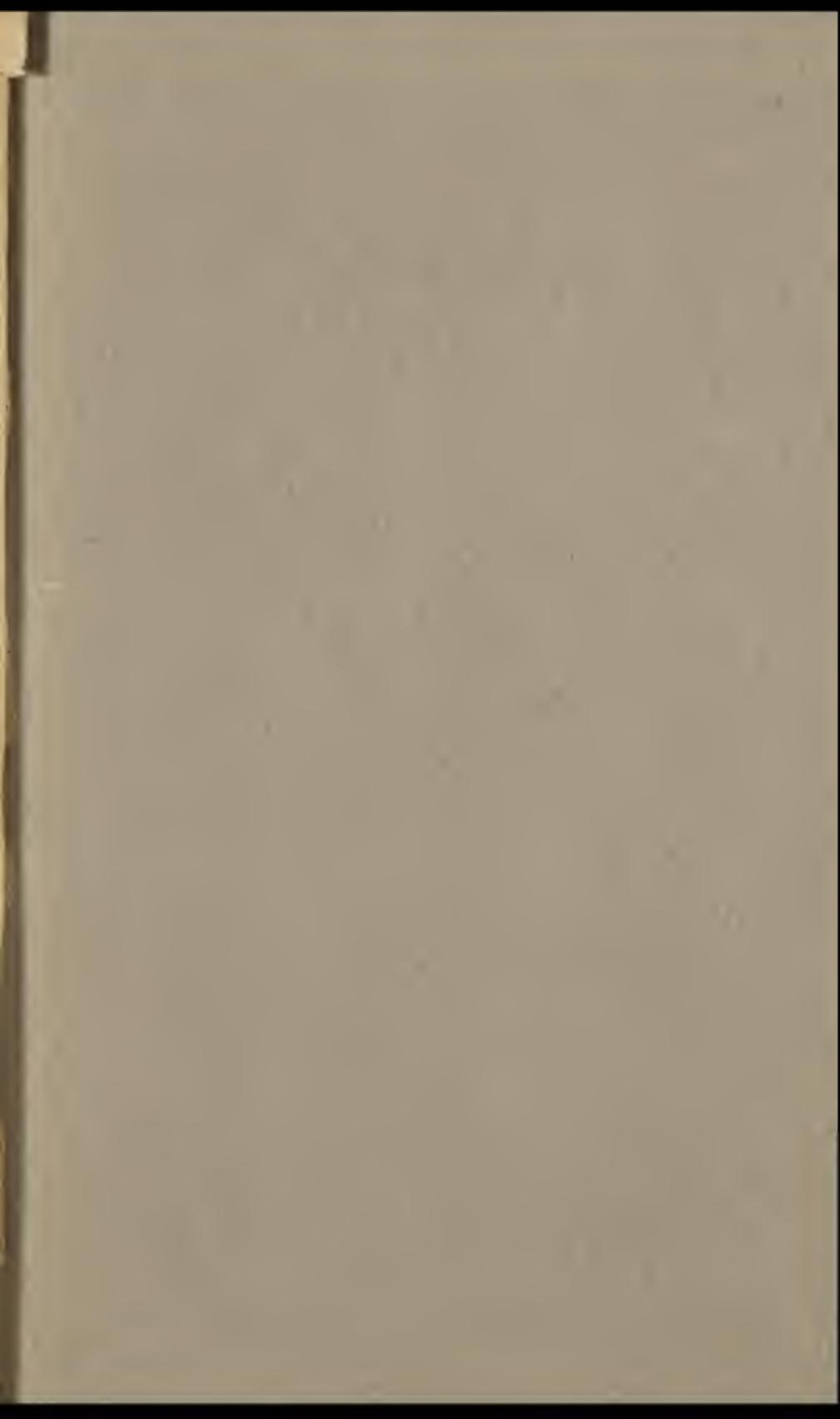
tions, but to all collectively, in measure equal to the occasion, and destined for the same service, the means of equipping and sustaining those who go forth in the spirit of the church, to do the work of the church. If it be right, a matter of plain Christian duty, for some to dedicate all their talents (as hundreds of British missionaries, besides men of other countries, have done, and are doing still,) by what plea of exemption can the rest excuse themselves from the dedication of the talent they are called to occupy, to the same Christian enterprise? Who shall draw the line of duty? Who will reveal the religious principle on which the sage keeps back his counsel, the orator his eloquence, the rich man his wealth, and the poor the savings of his self-denial, from that catholic system of agencies, by which the church is to evangelize the world? It has been written, as by the finger that "scorched the tablet-stone" in Sinai, on many a Christian's conscience—oh that it were so written on every Christian's conscience!—"I must go myself, or send another, so far as my means, faithfully applied, admit, to preach the gospel to the heathen." When will the hour arrive, when every man that calls himself Christian shall open the depths of his soul to the light of the New Testament, and ask the oracle that gives responses there, "What does the God of the whole earth require me to say, to do, to give, as the expression of my sympathy with his church, the fulfilment of my duty to his world?"

Assuredly, however, there is a serious failure, whenever a zealous exertion for missions abroad, is unconnected with corresponding effort for the diffusion of truth at home. To the compassion

aroused for the heathen world, we owe much that has been done for our own land: in watering others, we have been watered; and have abundantly proved, that "there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth." To maintain the ground already occupied, and greatly to extend the scene of labour, we are also solemnly pledged. But to suffer this obligation to withdraw or diminish our sympathy for those who are perishing immediately around us, is not only to have their blood required at our hands, but to weaken the cause we are engage to promote. The principal means now operating in heathen lands were put forth, and are still sustained, by the part of Britain hitherto evangelized; and in proportion as the moral and spiritual culture of our country is continued and prospered, will these means be increased. Those who are now "a curse," will then prove "a blessing." As men become solicitous for their own salvation, they will feel concerned for the eternal welfare of others; and thus, in every instance of real conversion, (whatever be the instrumentality by which it is effected,) one is added to the Christian church, who is solemnly bound to bestow his substance, exert his influence, and wrestle with Him who answers prayer, for the universal spread of the gospel. Well will it be, when this is more deeply felt and practically observed; when love to God is purer, and, therefore, love to man is stronger; and when to every believer in Christ the testimony shall be borne, with reference to the heathen in other lands, and to the ignorant and unbelieving of our own, "He hath done what he could."



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